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In This Issue

LEGISLATIVE PARLEY CALLED	2
MEANY ASSAILS EXCHANGE PACT	2
McDONALD HITS STEEL 'ISOLATIONISTS'	3
RAILROAD PROPAGANDA IGNORES THE FACTSGeorge E. Leighty	4
THE FIGHT AGAINST JOBS FOR ALL	7
LABOR HITS FRANCO REGIME	7
APPRENTICESHIP—1960	8
.....James A. Brownlow	
UAW WINS FOR PACKARD RETIREES	10
ICFTU CONDEMNS DICTATORSHIP, ACTS TO DEFEND RIGHTS	11
TODAY'S CHILD IN TOMORROW'S WORLDPeter T. Schoemann	15
OUR INVISIBLE PICKET LINE	17
.....Joseph Lewis	
NAM SEEKS MORE SHACKLES FOR LABOR	19
AFRICA—CHALLENGE TO WORLD DEMOCRACYHarry Goldberg	20
ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE MINORITY WORKERBoris Shishkin	24
FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS	25
COMMUNISTS CONTROL LABOR IN CUBA...Serafino Romualdi	26
DUES USUALLY MODERATE	27
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS	31
WHAT THEY SAY	32

Justice for All

The dignity of man, the respect and the recognition of the inherent work of each and every person under God—these values are the very essence of democracy and the very genius of democracy and the very genius of Christianity.

The dignity of man must be upheld, whether rich or poor, management or labor, skilled workman or common laborer, Gentile or Jew, Japanese or Negro, Catholic or Protestant. Either there is dignity in all honest toil or there is dignity in none.

If management is indispensable, so is labor. If a politician, minister or professor is saluted for his work, so must the workingman be saluted for his work.

We are all indebted to labor for providing what I call a social balance in the American economy. If we had great power in government and great strength in business and weakness in labor, we would have an unfortunate situation. In days of big business and big government there must also be big labor movements in order to give economic, political and social balance so that each and every American might have a chance to grow and develop into the kind of person that God intends for him to be.

I am convinced that labor cannot afford to be divided along racial, religious or cultural lines. Labor is one, and all men who toil belong together. If labor is divided, the economy is weakened and we play into the hands of those who are not friendly toward labor and who would divide and ruin us.

Any discrimination against labor and any discrimination against a racial or cultural group hurts the United States. Democracy and the Christian religion are bigger than any racial or cultural group. But it so happens that if Christianity and democracy are to survive in a world threatened by communism, they cannot survive without the implementation of the American dream—equality and justice for all.

Dr. Benjamin Mays.

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'NO TIME CAN BE LOST'

LEGISLATIVE PARLEY CALLED

A TWO-PRONGED legislative program—geared to winning Congressional enactment of “enlightened public-interest legislation” and to heading off passage of further “unfair, restrictive” labor measures—will be hammered out by the AFL-CIO during a three-day legislative conference in Washington. The legislative gathering will be held on January 11, 12 and 13.

Organized labor's pledge to wage a vigorous fight for passage of “a positive program for America” was contained in a formal conference call issued by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler. It went out to the officers of national and international unions, state bodies and larger city central bodies.

The conference, to be held in the Willard Hotel, will be used for the twin purpose of advising Congress of labor's program and hearing from Congressional leaders of their plans for the second session of the Eighty-sixth Congress. The leaders of both houses of Congress and both political parties have been invited to address the session.

The conference will take place against the backdrop of what the AFL-CIO has considered a medi-

ocre showing by Congress during 1959. Mr. Meany and Mr. Schnitzler recalled that the AFL-CIO's third constitutional convention in San Francisco found “little to cheer about” in the record of the first session.

“If the Eighty-sixth Congress is to adopt enlightened public-interest legislation,” the conference call declared, “it must do that job during the first six months of 1960.

“The AFL-CIO firmly believes that this Congress can and should adopt a positive program for America. We believe the Congress must complete action to provide for those who continue to live in economic uncertainty.”

The conference call took notice of the traditional brevity of Congressional sessions in years when national party conventions are scheduled.

“The political realities mean that the 1960 session of the Congress will be short,” the call said. “It is not expected that the Congress will be meeting after the Fourth of July.

“That means no time can be lost if the Eighty-sixth Congress is to enact the progressive legislation that the nation urgently requires.”

Meany Assails Exchange Pact

THE State Department has been accused by AFL-CIO President George Meany of perpetrating “a fraud on the American people” in signing an agreement with Soviet Russia advocating “exchanges” between labor union delegations of the United States and the U.S.S.R. despite the fact that the latter's so-called trade unions are under the “ironclad control and domination” of the government.

The State Department backed away quickly from the policy declaration, announcing it had no intention of joining in the exchange of any labor union delegations unless such an exchange were approved in advance by the leaders of the American trade union movement.

In a press conference upon his return to New York from the sixth world congress of the International

Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Belgium, Mr. Meany said that no State Department agreement “can hide the facts” that Soviet labor organizations are “the tools of the state—tools of worker oppression.”

The AFL-CIO's president told reporters that the agreement constitutes an abrupt switch in American foreign policy, since in the past the United States has insisted that scientific and cultural groups and labor be free of state control.

“Actually, the new cultural agreement is a fraud on the American people—like fixed TV shows and payola,” Mr. Meany said.

Declaring that the agreement was “dangerously in error,” Mr. Meany charged that the State Department “has known for years that no non-governmental organizations of any kind—least of all labor or trade un-

ions—exist in the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Empire is completely totalitarian-ruled. It is a one-party dictatorship.”

Under the leadership of Nikita Khrushchev, he continued, this “control over labor has been extended and intensified.”

The AFL-CIO president conceded that “government-to-government exchanges are possible,” but warned that American labor “cannot exchange delegates” with Russian unions as long as they remain dominated by the Soviet government.

“Labor,” he declared, “looks forward to the day when Soviet workers are free and have the right to organize, the right to quit, the right to strike, the right to seek employment, the right to change employment—all rights now denied.

“We would gladly agree to exchanges with free labor.”

McDonald Hits Steel 'Isolationists'

LEADERS of major steel companies were called "industrial isolationists" by David J. McDonald, president of the United Steelworkers of America, following the AFL-CIO union's negotiation of agreements with can and aluminum producers.

"Everybody seems to be out of step but them," Mr. McDonald said. "If they had the will to make an agreement, it could be done in an hour."

The steel industry's negotiators tried to belittle the union's accords in the can and aluminum industries. R. Conrad Cooper of U.S. Steel, the nation's largest steel company, told reporters that he did not believe the can and aluminum agreements would have "any significant bearing" on the steel talks.

The Steelworkers have denounced a new million-dollar propaganda drive of the basic steel industry as a "carefully contrived campaign to condition the public and our members to the idea that steelworkers should not share" in record-breaking profits.

The union referred to a heavy barrage of slick brochures and expensive newspaper advertisements unleashed by the industry. The steel management campaign claims that the companies' so-called "last offer"—calling for inadequate economic benefits and a gutting of work-rule safeguards—constitutes a "fair and generous offer."

The advertisements, which appeared in leading metropolitan newspapers from coast to coast, and the expensive printed brochures, mailed to USWA members and so-called "opinion leaders," were meant "to frighten some people into accepting inferior wage agreements and watered-down benefits," the Steelworkers charged.

The union—its 116-day strike halted temporarily by a Taft-Hartley injunction which expires January 26—served notice on the industry that its members would not be "soft-soaped" by the campaign. The union expressed confidence that the 500,000 workers would provide the answer to the employers' all-out attack with an "overwhelming rejection" of the proposal.

Under the Taft-Hartley Act, a Pres-

idential board of inquiry will be required to certify management's "last offer" after January 6 and the National Labor Relations Board will have to conduct a secret-ballot vote of members of the union on this offer prior to January 21. The union will be free to resume its strike when the court dissolves the injunction five days later.

Experience under the national emergency provisions of Taft-Hartley has proved that workers have always rejected management's so-called "last offer" in secret balloting.

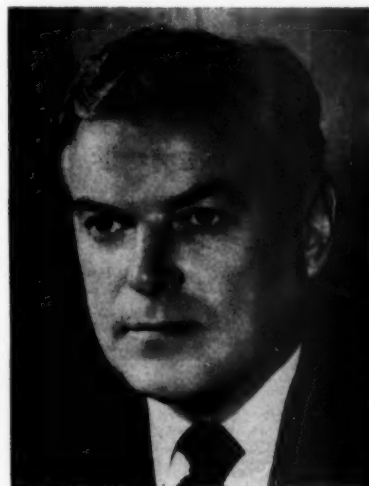
The Steelworkers have repeatedly urged the industry to join with union negotiators in working out a "fair and honorable settlement." If no solution is reached during the injunction period, the union has said, it will resume the strike with "the knowledge that the full resources of our own organization and the entire labor movement are pledged to support our members in their quest, as free Americans, for new contracts."

This was a reference to the Steelworkers' Defense Fund established by unanimous vote of the AFL-CIO General Board in September. Millions of dollars already have been poured into the fund, which is keyed to the contribution of an hour's pay per member per month.

Both the newspaper advertisements and the brochures published by the major steel companies put heavy stress on the economic side of industry's "last offer" with the value of the three-year package keyed to management's employment costs instead of to the actual dollars-and-cents benefits that would accrue to the workers.

The fleeting references to the work rules issue—key stumbling block to a negotiated settlement—are couched in general terms. The companies have consistently refused to spell out their detailed plans for changes in work rules, relying instead on constant repetition of the need for "reasonable steps to improve efficiency and eliminate waste."

In a detailed analysis of the industry offer, Steelworkers' President McDonald, Secretary-Treasurer I. W. Abel and Vice-President Howard R.



Companies that won't bargain were lashed by Dave McDonald.

Hague described the industry proposal in this area as an effort to "eliminate jobs" and warned that as many as 100,000 steelworkers could be thrown out of work.

Under the company proposal to arbitrate the question of what work rules changes should be made to "improve efficiency and eliminate waste," they said, arbiters would not be permitted to decide if there are, at present, adequate safeguards for employees' welfare. The offer, the Steelworkers' leaders said, "provides only for a one-sided and loaded study of steps to * * * save the companies money."

The goal of the industry proposal, the union declared, is "the right to cancel local practices and agreements covering such matters as crew sizes, relief or spell time, wash-up time, overtime distribution and limits, shift preference, bans on contracting out, overtime rates for weekend work, etc."

These rights, currently protected to some extent by local work rule clauses, "were won through bitter strikes for justice accompanied by privation and even starvation," the union said.

It added that the United Steelworkers were able to achieve these gains over the past twenty years because "the union held together in a common fight to protect the job rights of each individual employee."

Railroad Propaganda Ignores the Facts

By **GEORGE E. LEIGHTY**
Chairman, Railway Labor Executives Association

CHARGES of "featherbedding" which railroad management has been making about railroad labor are completely untrue. These false charges are doing untold harm to the railroad industry.

In all my years of railroading—and I started more than forty years ago—I have never seen as vicious, as misleading or as false a campaign against railroad workers as the one which the railroads of this country are now conducting. That campaign, masterminded by the high-priced advertising and public relations firms hired by the railroads, reflects the same Madison Avenue disregard of ethics which has brought television quiz shows to their present ill repute and has prompted the Federal Trade Commission to launch its current campaign to stamp out false and misleading television advertisements.

Why did the railroad industry, which over the years has had a comparatively outstanding record of peaceful and harmonious labor relations, suddenly launch this irresponsible and demoralizing attack upon its employees?

The most obvious answer is that a three-year moratorium on changes in wages and working conditions on the railroads expired recently. When Daniel P. Loomis, president of the Association of American Railroads, launched this campaign last February in a speech in St. Louis, he and the industry were starting to set the stage for the coming negotiations. In this connection the aim of the campaign is to try to create an atmosphere



GEORGE E. LEIGHTY

which would give the employers a psychological advantage in collective bargaining. However, the railroads also have other motives, less obvious, in undertaking this massive effort to brainwash the American people.

Under the Railway Labor Act every major dispute that cannot be resolved between the workers and management eventually goes before a Presidential emergency board which issues a report on the facts and recommends what it regards as a fair settlement. A major purpose of the railroads in their current propaganda campaign is to brainwash all potential referees and arbitrators, as well as the general public, to such an extent that it will be impossible for railroad workers to secure a fair and equitable report

and recommendations from such a board.

Coupled with the employers' charges of "featherbedding" is the steady propaganda line that the railroads are in a bad state of economic health, that they are now unable to compete with other forms of transport and that they must have government help in order to survive.

The railroads have done a good job in creating in the public's mind the false notion that they are near bankruptcy. This is helpful to them in their bargaining position, but it is of even more value to the railroads in their lobbying and legislative efforts to win tax concessions, exemptions from regulatory measures and other special favors.

It has already paid off for them handsomely in the benefits they received from Congress in the Transportation Act of 1958, as well as in the special tax measures and other concessions they have received from state and local governments.

ALTHOUGH the railroads are crying "wolf" and wearing a disguise of sheep's clothing of feigned poverty, the fact is that they are today in sounder financial shape than at any prior time in their history. In the last decade, railroad profits have gained record heights and unprecedented stability.

This has been reflected in a strong investor confidence in rail securities and a spectacular advance in the value of railroad stocks.

The Dow-Jones average of rail-

road stocks is up more than 400 per cent over the average in 1939. In comparison, the Dow-Jones average of industrial stocks has increased about 350 per cent over 1939 and the utility average is up only about 270 per cent. Obviously, despite all the misrepresentation being circulated about the state of the railroad industry, investors like railroad securities and are bidding their prices up with enthusiasm.

The railroads are still the largest and most important carriers in the transportation field. They are still the most profitable of any form of transport. They realize a margin on gross revenues that is two to three times larger than the margins of the domestic air and truck lines, and the railroads' margin also is more favorable than that of inland waterway shipping.

COMPARE the railroads' present earnings with past profits. In the period from 1921, when the government relinquished its wartime control and operations, through 1958, the average annual net earnings of the railroads was \$499 million a year. Last year, which the railroads called "a very bad year" and which was a recession year for all American industry, the railroads nevertheless reported a net income, after taxes and all expenses, of \$602 million. In addition, they took another \$600 million out of their operating revenues and placed it in their capital account for "depreciation," which they are able to utilize in any way they see fit.

These are the official Interstate Commerce Commission statistics for the railroad industry as a whole. I defy anyone to show that they support in any way the employers' propaganda that they are going bankrupt. It is true that some few individual railroads located in the Eastern part of the United States are having financial difficulties, but these troubles are due to their outmoded capital structure and other factors confronting these carriers.

Oddly enough, as a general rule it is not the managements of the railroads in most financial difficulty which are pressing the industry's current "featherbedding" charges.

The fact is that railroad managements are divided over the wisdom of the propaganda campaign which the group presently controlling the thinking of the industry has launched

against railroad workers. Several top leaders in the railroad industry have told us that they do not believe in or support the current "featherbedding" charges.

The charge of "featherbedding" is being made against railroad workers with the primary intent of taking away from the workers a major share of their present income. The railroads have set the amount involved at half a billion dollars a year, and while they say that "the public" is paying this cost, it is interesting to note that the railroads have indicated no intention of reducing their rates to the public by this amount if they succeed in cutting the pay of their workers.

Strangely enough, throughout their propaganda campaign, the railroads never have given the public a breakdown of how they arrived at their figure of \$500 million as the alleged cost of "featherbedding." Although this figure has no foundation in fact, newspaper writers and others have been repeating it without question until it has probably become the most widely disseminated of modern myths.

On November 1 the time arrived for the railroads to make public just what changes they had in mind in the present working rules which supposedly will eliminate this fantastic amount of alleged waste and at the same time, according to their propaganda, halt what they refer to as the needless destruction of jobs in the railroad industry. Now that they have served notices on their employees' unions, the cat is out of the bag, and we can determine the strange arithmetic by which the industry's propagandists have arrived at this fantastic figure. It represents one of the most unmathematical manipulations to be found anywhere in the realm of loaded statistics.

First, say the railroads, more than \$200 million dollars of this total is made up of the wages now paid to firemen in the freight and yard service, whom the railroads want to eliminate. For the moment let us pass over the completely unrealistic and dangerous nature of this proposal. But how, we ask, is the destruction of jobs in the railroad industry halted by a proposal to eliminate many thousands of jobs now in existence?

Next, the railroads say, they would save \$150 million a year by revising the so-called dual basis of pay for train service employees. This is nothing but a proposal to cut the earnings of these employees. It is a pay cut proposal, pure and simple.

Another \$100 million of the figure is attributed to the wages now paid to other workers who, the railroads say, fill "useless crew positions on trains." Presumably these are primarily brakemen, although the railroads have not spelled this out in any detail. Once again one must wonder how the needless destruction of jobs is stopped by further destroying them.

Finally, the railroads say that \$50 million of their figure represents the money that railroads pay out because of "full crew" laws and other safety statutes in twenty-three states. Those laws were enacted because the people of those states, speaking through their elected representatives, determined that the railroads could not be relied upon without such legislation to take adequate safety precautions to protect the interests of the traveling public and railroad employees alike.

This breakdown of the railroads' phony \$500 million figure for the cost of alleged "featherbedding," on its very face, reveals just how tenuous and misleading the industry's propaganda claim has been. All practical railroad operating men vigorously oppose the proposed changes in the work rules which the companies have called for.

Of the present 800,000 workers in the railroad industry in the United States, only 200,000 workers are employed in so-called operating positions. Of that total approximately half are engaged in yard service and are paid on an hourly basis, so that the so-called dual basis of pay, which is the basis of the railroad's "featherbedding" propaganda, applies only to about 100,000 train and engine service employees who are engaged in so-called road service and are required to work under conditions which are not present in any other industry.

The minimum train crew in road freight service is only five men—an engineer, a fireman, a conductor and



two brakemen. This has been the standard minimum crew for over forty years, and it hasn't increased despite the fact that today's trains are many times longer, heavier, faster and potentially more destructive than ever before.

The pay system under which operating workers are compensated is a piece rate incentive system, where the unit of pay is the mile run. One hundred miles is merely a unit of work for which a unit of pay is received. Some railroaders inaccurately call the 100-mile unit of pay "a basic day," and the railroads have twisted this term for all it is worth in their "featherbedding" charges. What the term really means is that 100 miles is a basic unit of compensation, and it never was intended to be and never has been comparable to the eight-hour day in outside industry and in the railroad non-operating crafts.

Let me illustrate just how unfair the railroad charges that their workers earn "a day's pay" in only a few hours of work really are by contrasting the earnings of a Detroit bricklayer during an eight-hour day with what the railroads call "a day's pay" in their propaganda. The bricklayer currently would earn about \$34 a day for his labor, while the so-called "day's pay" of the average locomotive engineer—the highest paid of any of the operating railroad workers—is only \$22 a day.

Most of the operating workers earn considerably less—for example, only about \$18 "a day" for locomotive firemen.

When one considers how much greater is the responsibility of these railroad men upon whom depends the safety of equipment and lading worth several million dollars per average train plus the lives and security of many passengers, it is clear that the 100-mile measure used to pay operating employees obviously is not intended to represent a day's work in the usual sense but rather is only a unit of work.

The railroads now propose to run their crews 160 miles for the same amount of money they now pay for 100 miles. In other words, they are asking these employees to take a pay cut of some 60 per cent.

It is appropriate to point out that the railroads charge shippers and passengers on a basis of per mile carried. The dual basis of pay was put into effect at the insistence of railroad management because it relates wage costs directly to operating income. Despite all the propaganda of the companies now flooding the nation, there is no evidence that increased train speeds and other factors will ever mean any substantial reduction in freight rates or passenger fares. Since living costs generally are rising, it is more likely that both will be increased.



As a matter of fact, they would already have gone up more if the railroad companies in recent years had not been the beneficiaries of the greatest increase in employee productivity of any industry. In the past decade the productivity of railroad labor has soared an amazing 100 per cent and it has been rising in recent years at a steadily increasing rate, faster than in any manufacturing industry.

The railroads argue that higher train speeds, because of dieselization, make present-day scales archaic. But in 1946, before the railroads of the United States turned to diesel power in freight service, the average train speed was only two miles an hour less than the average freight train speed of 18.9 miles an hour in 1958. Steam engines could move just as fast as diesels, but it took more engines and more crew members, and that is where productivity tells the real story.

A 100-car freight train with two to four steam engines had two to four engine crews. Now one engineer and one fireman are responsible for any number of diesel units operating in multiple. They can and do run as high as five and six units hauling trains of 150 to 200 cars, and even more units are used where longer trains are involved.

In any piece-rate system, there are always some operations which pay comparatively high wages, and when the railroads in their propaganda cite runs where they claim one or two so-called "days' pay" is being earned in a few hours, they are referring to these exceptional "red apple" runs.

Such runs are held by less than one

per cent of all railroad employees, and they are held only by employees who have worked up the seniority ladder step by step by putting in twenty-five to thirty years of service at conditions and pay which are decidedly substandard in terms of modern industrial wage scales and working practices. For every example which the railroads cite as "featherbedding," there are scores of instances at the other end of the pay structure where it is perfectly clear that the employees are grossly underpaid.

If the railroads were to go on a straight time basis similar to that in other industries, they would, on the basis of 1957 employment, have to pay out some \$647 million a year more to their employees than they actually did. That means that any fair and equitable adjustment of the dual basis of pay system to modern industrial standards would cost the railroads well over \$100 million more than their alleged \$500 million cost of "featherbedding."

IN THE first place, railroad operating employees in road service did not get the 20 per cent increase in basic pay that was granted to non-operating railroad workers when they were placed on a 40-hour week. To place these workers on the same basis, therefore, would require an immediate increase of that amount in their basic wage rates.

That, however, would be only the first increase in wage costs that would result from any modernization of the dual basis of pay system. Under their present pay system, most of the overtime worked by railroad employees in road service is paid for at the straight time rate, and working days of as much as sixteen hours at the straight time rates are not at all uncommon. These employees get no night-shift differential and no premium pay for Sunday and holiday work. They do not get paid for the time they must spend away from home at the far terminal, and they receive no allowance for their "away from home" expenses, while they are waiting to make the homeward run. Under such conditions, it is clear that the compensation even in the higher-paid runs cited by the railroads quickly evaporates.

When the employers talk about "modernizing" the working rules for the operating employees in road service, they (Continued on Page 28)

The Fight Against Jobs for All

THE ATTACK on unions and collective bargaining under the guise of "fighting inflation" is basically a fight "against economic expansion and full employment," AFL-CIO President George Meany has declared. He levels the charge in an article in *The Annals*, the publication of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. His article is part of an issue devoted to the subject of inflation.

The nationwide campaign on inflation, Mr. Meany writes, "has distorted reality" and "has submerged the crucial problems facing the nation"—national defense, public service needs of a growing population, economic aid for the uncommitted nations and adjustment to automation and technological change.

The phony inflation campaign is thoroughly exposed, Mr. Meany says, in the nature of the attack on unions and bargaining.

"Americans have been told incessantly," the president of the AFL-CIO writes, "that wage increases are an inflationary evil, since they are supposed to have resulted in both excessive consumer demand for goods and great increases in costs per unit of production."

The facts are, he points out, that "there was no excessive consumer demand" from mid-1955 to mid-1958 when prices were creeping up.

"There was no general shortage of goods. Instead there was weakness in consumer markets during most of that time and there was a growing gap between the economy's ability to produce and its ability to consume."

As for unit costs, Mr. Meany observes, "since 1947 output per man-hour of work has risen at a faster rate than in previous periods, despite the slow pace of economic progress in the past few years." He adds:

"It is the attack on trade unions and collective bargaining that exposes the underlying drive of the campaign for restrictive economic policies. The entire campaign is basically a fight against economic expansion and full employment.

"The attack against trade unions, as well as the propaganda for 'tight money' and budget surpluses at low

levels of output and income, is an attempt to achieve a slow pace of economic progress and high levels of unemployment.

"What the restrictionists have not yet fully developed is a formula by which they can attain sufficiently high levels of unemployment to satisfy them and win elections at the same time."

The need for national survival and continued progress can be met by economic expansion of at least 5 per cent a year. Continuing wage and salary increases, Mr. Meany writes, should be encouraged if growing consumer markets are to be attained.

There must be an end, he adds, to the incessant propaganda campaign about "runaway inflation." Rapid economic expansion to sustain full employment and meet the nation's needs will do more than anything else to stabilize the price situation, he emphasizes.

Later Mr. Meany, in a letter to Senator Paul H. Douglas, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, said the Eisenhower Administration has been paying too much attention to "fighting a phantom 'inflation'" and not devoting enough thought to "developing a higher rate of growth or cutting back the recurring recessions."

Labor Hits Franco Regime

ON THE eve of President Eisenhower's scheduled visit to Franco Spain as part of his nineteen-day peace tour of Europe, Asia and North Africa, the AFL-CIO reiterated its condemnation of the Franco regime as "a reprehensible dictatorship."

In a cablegram to Pascual Tomas, general secretary of the General Union of Spanish Workers in Exile, AFL-CIO President George Meany called the Franco dictatorship "unworthy of diplomatic recognition or economic assistance." The message was dispatched to the exiled Spanish trade unionists at their headquarters in Toulouse, France.

"We of the AFL-CIO reaffirm to you our international free trade union

The letter accompanied a detailed statement by the AFL-CIO on employment, growth and price levels.

The AFL-CIO president said that a much faster pace of economic expansion than the 2.5 per cent growth rate of recent years is needed.

The government's policies of tight money, high interest rates and attempts to balance the federal budget at relatively low levels of output and incomes should be halted, Mr. Meany asserted.

His letter to Senator Douglas declared that a substantial revision of the government's tax policies is required to provide a more equitable basis for raising federal revenue and for achieving a better balance in the flow of economic returns to consumers and business.

Mr. Meany said that collective bargaining has been a positive, constructive force for achieving higher living standards and making possible greater economic progress.

"We reject arguments that collective bargaining has had any inflationary effect or that it has in any way impeded advances in technology," the letter said. "Examination of wage-price movements makes clear that the cause of rising prices in the postwar period is not collective bargaining wage settlements."

solidarity," Mr. Meany declared, "and extend through you our warmest greetings to the heroic Spanish workers and liberty-loving people of Spain."

The AFL-CIO's president recalled that the convention of the AFL-CIO last September "unanimously reaffirmed this policy in support of democracy and the working people."

The cablegram to Señor Tomas concluded:

"American labor will continue its efforts, in cooperation with free world labor, to hasten the day when Spain will be free and democratic and the Spanish workers will enjoy the freedom and prosperity which they so richly deserve."

APPRENTICESHIP-1960

By JAMES A. BROWNLOW

President, Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO

THE need for increasing our national scientific and engineering capacity and competency has become a favorite subject of discussion during the past several years. Many speeches, declarations and profound conclusions have emphasized the urgent need of channeling our nation's manpower into these fields without really planning to meet the real problem effectively.

The nation has been bombarded with statistics and with comparisons with other countries, in our national Congress and in statements and speeches before business, professional and labor groups, both by those who know something about the problem and by those who do not.

There are some who apparently believe that all we need to do to improve our relative national position in the fields of science and engineering is to talk about it.

Rather than to venture into this scientific and engineering field about which we have relatively no knowledge, we would prefer to confine our discussion to the problem of keeping abreast of scientific and technological developments in our trades and industries. This is, or should be, a matter of vital concern to both employers and labor. Failure by employers and labor to keep pace with these changes cannot but seriously retard our national progress.

Industry and labor have a joint obligation ceaselessly and fully to use the great technological progress which constantly is being made throughout the world. This can be effectively accomplished only through the full utilization of thoroughly trained, highly skilled craftsmen. Such craftsmen can be obtained only through comprehensive and jointly administered apprenticeship programs.

Only through such apprenticeship programs—well-balanced, jointly administered and thorough—can the worker obtain the scientific and technical knowledge and develop the manipulative skills which, when



JAMES A. BROWNLOW

blended together, give us the highly skilled craftsman.

In recent months we have read and heard a good deal about the state of our apprenticeship programs, how we are not training enough apprentices to replace the skilled workers who retire, die or move into other occupations.

We are told that not enough apprentices are being employed and, of those who are employed, less than half complete their apprenticeships and become journeymen.

This condition varies among the different crafts. Some have a better record than others. All, it is evident, have a great deal to do to bring the ranks of the craftsmen up to the numerical level needed to support a rapidly expanding population. Not only must the number of craftsmen correspond to population growth; it is also essential that training for craftsmanship be conducted so as to prepare the skilled workers for easy adjustment to the innovations constantly developing in their trades.

We have considerable information

to aid us in making some evaluation of the state of apprenticeship in this country.

In January, 1958, there were 186,408 apprentices registered in all trades, while at the end of the year this number had dropped to 177,695. It must also be noted that these apprenticeship registration figures do not reveal the number of apprentices who may have been furloughed or temporarily suspended from training, but who are still counted as a part of the registered apprentices on the active list, even though their training may have been delayed by weeks or months.

There is no question but that the demand for skilled workers in our labor force continues to increase. Our recognized apprentice programs are failing to turn out anywhere near the number of fully skilled journeymen who are needed each year to offset even the number of skilled workers who leave the labor force each year through death or retirement, let alone to meet the demand for the additional skilled workers which continued scientific and industrial development requires.

There is no question but that we must do more to promote the training of apprentices if we are to assure an adequate supply of workers with the highest possible skills needed to keep pace with our technological developments and population growth.

SEVERAL attempts on the part of the government had been made to recognize formally the need of a balanced, regulated apprentice training program. At the solicitation of management and labor, Congress passed the law establishing a Federal Apprenticeship Bureau within the United States Department of Labor which became effective in August, 1937. This is commonly known as the Fitzgerald Act.

Previous to the adoption of this act, apprenticeship laws had been in effect in some of the states, most of them directed to developing the joint

cooperation of the state, management and labor.

Today the Federal Bureau of Apprenticeship is composed of some 500 employees, most of whom are craftsmen affiliated with the many unions of the apprenticeable trades and who have devoted their abilities to their crafts and to the effective dissemination of information regarding general apprentice programs, designed to assist labor and management in the development of meaningful apprenticeship programs.

We must recognize that the essence of this whole apprenticeship system is the cooperation of labor and management, and that in each of the trades there are joint apprenticeship committees, composed of labor and management. The participation of the federal government and of the states is confined primarily to the promoting of apprenticeship, the formulating of joint apprenticeship committees and cooperating with these joint committees and giving them the benefit of the wide experiences of the federal or state apprenticeship representative so as to assure an effective program.

Even in the face of this activity we are falling far short of our goal.

The number of completions and cancellations has been exceeding the number of new registrations. There were over 28,000 cancellations last year and just short of 30,000 completions, while our total new registrations were slightly over 49,000.

The statistics here referred to deal only with registered apprentice employment, with state apprenticeship agencies, or the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training. Therefore, they do not tell all the story, for not all apprentices are registered.

There is an urgent need for more comprehensive information on the extent to which we, as a nation, are meeting our demands for skilled labor through apprenticeship training programs. There is a need to know not only the number of apprentices in training for each of the trades, but also how many actually complete their training. This information should then be correlated with information on the number of journeymen in each trade and the rate of journeyman loss through death, retirement and other reasons.

It is encouraging to note that international unions have continued their efforts to extend and improve

their apprenticeship programs and that these efforts have not slackened during the recession in employment occurring during the last many months.

It is important also to see that unions are giving increased attention to the development of the technical knowledge and skills of their journeymen. If a journeyman is to keep up with the demands for increased knowledge and new skills, coming with the rapidly changing industrial picture, it is imperative that he have an opportunity to acquire the further training and knowledge to allow him to cope satisfactorily with the new departures in his field which may have come into practice since he completed his apprenticeship.

Those journeymen who are called on to play an important part in the development of the on-the-job portion of the apprentices' training should themselves be fully competent in all phases of their craft, including new and improved techniques and developments as they come into use.

THE problems inherent in journeyman training differ substantially from apprenticeship training problems in that the journeyman must be sufficiently concerned with his need for broadening his knowledge so that he will be willing to give of his time for such purpose.

A journeyman must be made to realize that the taking of additional training courses is no reflection on him or on the apprenticeship program which he completed. He must be brought to understand that the rapid changes occurring in techniques, processes, materials, etc., are bringing changes and additions to his trade which the best apprentice training program of a decade ago could not anticipate and train for.

One method which has proved successful in arousing the interest of journeymen in further training courses is carrying out sound, updated apprenticeship programs in their areas and establishments. When the skilled journeymen see that the apprentices are acquiring knowledge and skill which they don't have, they are frequently encouraged to request courses which will give them the same knowledge and technical information which the apprentices are given.

Surveys of apprentices who have completed their training demonstrate

that job training is the weak spot in apprentice training. Some former apprentices indicate that they are not given a sufficient variety of work experience. Some indicate that the journeymen to whom they were assigned were not good instructors. They indicate that the urge for production may have kept them on certain jobs in which they had developed a high degree of productivity; this would be at the expense of their having adequate opportunity to work at other jobs relating to their trade.

These complaints by men who have completed their apprenticeships suggests that steps need to be taken by joint apprenticeship committees, by apprentice supervisors and, above all, by management. Such complaints would not arise if those responsible for the operation of the apprenticeship program checked the apprentices' job training at least once a month and had the authority to move the apprentices to different operations in accordance with the established training schedule.

The writer has long recognized a problem with which all unions, management, journeymen and apprentices have been confronted. That is, whether with the increased change in processes and technological development, we can continue to limit our training in the old, traditional way; whether there has been such a crossing-over or mixing of craft skills that it is almost impossible to follow the legendary jurisdictional practices of the respective unions.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. We are not now advocating that a diversity of operations be made a part of a formal apprentice-



We can all hit the target by contributing to COPE

ship of any particular craft, but it is a subject which is going to require the attention of both management and unions alike. We believe management would much prefer the retraining of already skilled craftsmen, even at journeymen's rates, to meet new technological developments, rather than to start in an apprenticeship of a new and indefinable trade. This problem increasingly requires the attention of all concerned.

The writer further believes that the day is rapidly approaching when the classroom and technical training requirements of the apprentice can no longer be taught after hours and after the day's work has been completed. Apprentices must spend a full workday at vocational school at their regular pay.

The day is past when the entering apprentice has only completed elementary school and is from 14 to 16 years of age. Today in most instances entering apprentices must be high school graduates or at least have had high school training and not be under 18 years of age. Compulsory military service has had its effect upon increasing the age and responsibility of the average apprentice.

Many apprentices are married and have families. It is unfair to the

apprentice, following his day's work, to compel him to take his additional related classroom training after the regular workday is ended. He is tired and lacks the enthusiasm which he would have at the start of a day.

Suggestions which have gained some state and national recognition have been made to the effect that the length of an apprenticeship to be served should be reduced.

Arbitrary conclusions reached on a unilateral basis in this instance are false. Again, experience has proven that the length of the apprenticeship served at present, as determined by labor and management, is not long enough and should be increased, rather than reduced. Only in this way can we hope to turn out fully skilled journeymen who are capable of coping with the technological developments of their own trades.

Apprentice training is costly to the employer. It is, however, an investment upon which American industry can expect a full return. It is not wise that this investment be dissipated in partially training workers who cannot become competent journeymen upon fulfillment of such shortened apprenticeships.

The number of apprentices in each given trade or industry must be de-

termined by the demands of that trade or industry. It must not be forgotten that the apprentice is hired as a learner and works as a learner. As such he is entitled to continuity of employment during his apprenticeship and to some reasonable assurance that upon completion of his term there will be a job for him at his trade.

Much has been said and will be said about the limitations placed by some unions and management on the number of apprentices in certain occupations. Far better that these young men be trained in an occupation which, all else being equal, assures permanence of work.

There is an additional obligation upon industry, and that is to accept apprentice training programs and apprentices and not depend upon other industries or plants to bear the expense and burden of training craftsmen, only to have them then pirated away by some company which has shirked its responsibility to train its own skilled craftsmen.

In conclusion, this whole complex subject of apprenticeship skills and their development is one which needs the full attention of labor and management and the cooperation of federal and state governments.

UAW Wins for Packard Retirees

THE United Auto Workers and the Studebaker-Packard Corporation in Detroit have reached agreement on a plan to assure Packard retirees guaranteed lifetime pensions equaling 85 per cent of the level provided at the time the Packard plant in the Michigan metropolis was closed.

In addition to pension guarantees for 1,900 Packard retirees, the settlement provides for cash settlements ranging from \$490 to \$1980 for 350 former Packard workers in the 60-65 age group.

As a result of the settlement, the UAW has withdrawn a suit which it filed in Federal Court in November, 1958, in a move to prevent the company from carrying out a unilateral split of the assets of a corporation-wide pension fund.

The Auto Workers' Region 1 co-director, Ken Morris, hailed the settlement as a "significant victory" for both Packard retirees and those who are in the pre-retirement group.

"The Studebaker-Packard Corporation," he declared, "is to be commended for recognizing the very real problems involved and for willingness to work cooperatively to find a solution."

Under terms of the pension agreement negotiated in 1955, retired workers at the Studebaker plant in South Bend and at Packard in Detroit were to receive pensions equaling \$2.25 per month for each year of service. Payment was to be made from a consolidated pension fund.

At the expiration of the pension agreement in 1958, following the cessation of Packard output in Detroit, the company unilaterally split the \$25,000,000 fund into two parts, one covering Studebaker workers and the other covering former Packard workers.

Since the \$10,000,000 allocated to former Packard employees was not large enough to pay the full benefit to those on retirement, the company

proposed that retirees' benefits be reduced. In its court action the UAW charged that this would slash the benefits for retired workers to 65 per cent of the figure negotiated in the contract and would make no provision for those aged 60 to 65 not yet on retirement.

Under the out-of-court settlement, a typical Packard retiree with thirty years of service will receive approximately \$57 monthly—roughly 85 per cent of the original negotiated amount.

Added to social security benefits, the settlement will give the average retired worker and his wife approximately \$207 monthly.

In addition, those in the 60 to 65 group at the time of the Packard plant closing will receive a lump sum settlement that will be equivalent to approximately \$43 for each year of service. The average cash payment to those in this group, Mr. Morris said, will amount to \$1200.

ICFTU Condemns Dictatorship, Acts to Defend Workers' Rights

THE SIXTH congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has strongly reaffirmed the opposition of the free trade unions to totalitarian dictatorship in any form and the violation of workers' rights in all areas of the world.

In session at Brussels, Belgium, delegates from fifty-nine of the ninety-six countries represented in the ICFTU, with a total membership of 57,000,000 organized workers, adopted a series of policy resolutions and statements designed to advance democracy and aid workers in the new and underdeveloped nations.

Marking the ICFTU's tenth anniversary, the congress:

- Condemned the brutal suppression of the Hungarian people by Soviet puppets.

- Condemned the flagrant violation of human rights by Red China in Tibet and the violation by the Red Chinese of the India border.

- Declared that the preservation of

West Berlin's freedom is vital to the preservation of world peace, hailed the call of the West German Federation of Labor for a United Nations referendum of all the German people and urged the forthcoming summit conference to remember the urgent need for guaranteeing the security of West Berlin and restoring German unity.

- Called for guarantees of the territorial integrity and national independence of Southeast Asian countries.

- Ordered a consumer boycott of South African goods to demonstrate tangible support of and solidarity with South Africans who are the victims of the "inhuman racial policies of their government, which violate all concepts of decency and morality." The Executive Board was ordered to establish a target date when the boycott could be most effective.

- Condemned French violation of trade union freedom in Algeria and urged that imprisoned unionists be

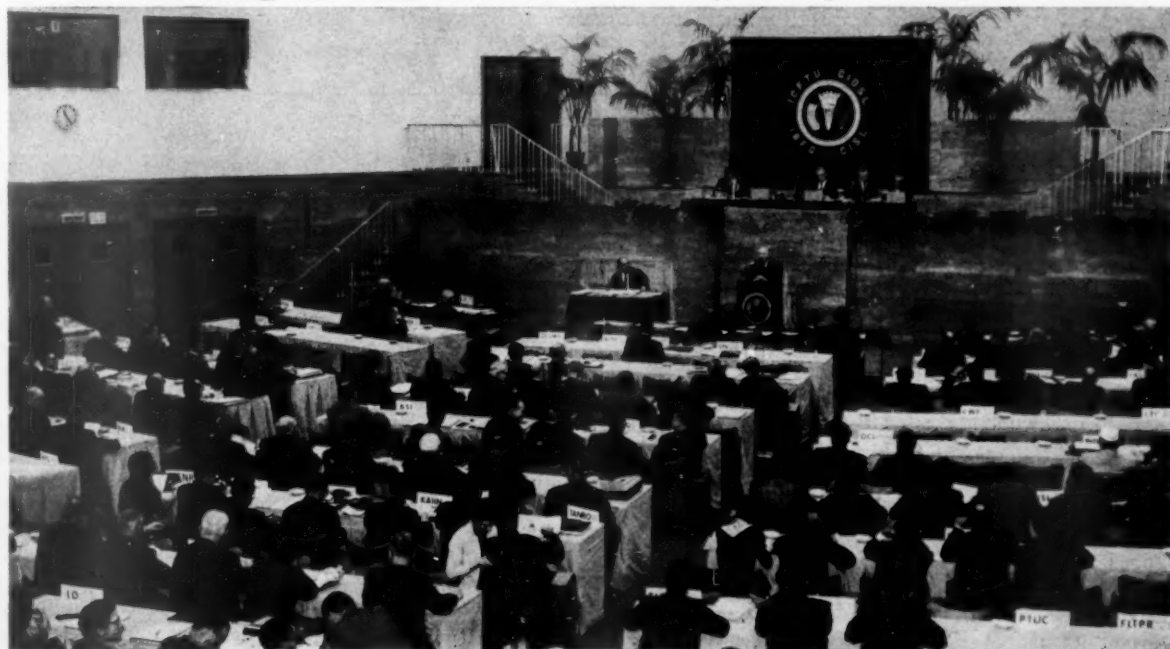
freed and democratic freedoms re-established. Both parties to the civil strife in Algeria were urged to open peace discussions promptly to achieve political self-determination and a cease-fire.

- Condemned the Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic and instructed the secretary-general to explore the possibilities of boycott measures.

- Protested the systematic negation of trade union rights in Haiti, Nicaragua and Paraguay and asked the United Nations, the Organization of American States and the democratic governments of North and South America to abstain from political action and financial assistance contributing to the strength and prestige of these regimes and the consequent suffering of workers.

- Pledged the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to expose and renounce all types of dictatorships and regimes, and to build and strengthen free trade unions as

The Brussels meeting, which marked the ICFTU's tenth anniversary, had delegates from fifty-nine countries.



the most determined, dynamic defenders of democracies.

►Urged continued serious efforts to build the Solidarity Fund as practical machinery in the fight against dictatorship and in aiding its victims.

►Reaffirmed determination to fight colonialism and racial discrimination everywhere and to help achieve self-government and self-determination for all the world's peoples.

►Condemned actions in Africa where the drive for freedom has met government suppression.

►Deplored the inadequate actions of the United States government on school desegregation, despite the historic Supreme Court decision. The congress declared its abhorrence of racial discrimination in the Southern U.S. and of recent outbursts of intolerance in Britain and elsewhere.

►Called for the achievement of a dynamic world program against poverty, specifically urging affiliates to demand that their governments cooperate with others to eliminate international trade obstacles and expand trade based upon maintenance of international fair labor standards.

►Called on all nations to devote their full energies to maintaining full employment and economic growth by insuring that the fruits of technology, automation and peaceful atomic energy be used to bring about improved living standards and not unemployment.

►Urged all nations to join through the United Nations in a massive effort to end poverty, ignorance, disease and labor exploitation.

THE congress also approved overwhelmingly a special resolution, drafted by the ICFTU Executive Board, directed to making the organization "more adequate and responsive to the tasks ahead, with increased emphasis on the need for building effective trade union organizations and for dealing with the problems of workers in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other parts of the world where the struggle is hardest and the need greatest."

The first step in reorganization provided for four assistant secretaries-general working under the direction and supervision of the secretary-general but reporting to the Executive Board.

Recognizing the growing importance of Africa, the congress created a new Executive Board post and



AFL-CIO delegation was led by President Meany. Studying a paper with him during recess is Vice-President Reuther, also a delegate.

elected Tom Mboya, leader of the Kenya labor movement, as a member of a powerful subcommittee that will signal new actions in Africa.

AFL-CIO President George Meany, speaking on the ICFTU Solidarity Fund—a general assistance fund from members—said the United States hoped this activity could continue. But, he stressed, its effectiveness would depend on creating a structural "responsibility to the needs of workers in the areas where people are striving for new independence."

Mr. Meany said American labor intended to help and hoped to do so side by side with others in the Solidarity Fund, but "while we will help in any way possible, we will not permit the dead hand of bureaucracy, whenever it exists, to keep us from helping these people."

Arne Geijer was reelected as president of the ICFTU and J. H. Oldenbroek was reelected as secretary-general. Elected as United States members of the Executive Board were Mr. Meany and AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, with AFL-CIO Vice-Presidents George M. Harrison and James B. Carey as first alternates. AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and AFL-CIO Vice-President David J. McDonald were elected second alternates.

Following the adjournment of the congress, the Executive Board named a five-man Reorganization Committee. The members of this group are ICFTU President Geijer, Mr. Meany, Louis Major of Belgium, Sir Vincent Tewson of Britain and Willi Richter

of West Germany. AFL-CIO Vice-President Reuther was elected Mr. Meany's alternate on the committee.

The reorganization resolution was adopted by the congress after two hours of debate. There were ninety-eight votes in favor of the resolution and twenty-nine against it. Seven abstentions were recorded.

Members of the AFL-CIO delegation played a major role in the discussions on the key issues of peace and freedom and an expanding economy.

THE "most vital and urgent" task facing the international free trade union movement is world peace and human freedom, Mr. Meany declared in a major speech.

Without question, he said, working people suffer most in war and progress only in peacetime. They are the first victims the moment freedom and democracy are destroyed and dictatorship is foisted on a country, Mr. Meany declared, reciting a list of dictators' actions from Hitler to Khrushchev.

He called the first ten years of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions "a decade of continuous crisis," pointing out that "the international situation today is potentially more explosive" than when the organization was founded.

"The talk about 'the great thaw' and 'the spirit of Camp David' does not mean world peace has been assured," Mr. Meany pointed out.

The Soviet Union has sought to exploit the mood engendered by such

talk in order to "prevent criticism of its criminal aggression against liberty-loving peoples," he added.

Mr. Meany called the United Nations report on Hungary both "a lesson and a warning to the free world proving the absolute fraud of the Soviet Union's plea for peaceful coexistence." Since that was what the Hungarians had sought, he said, "it proves that the Soviets are truly afraid of peaceful coexistence with a free nation."

Mr. Meany proposed three guidelines for international labor to insure effective, concerted action:

►Clear recognition of the Communist danger.

►Strict adherence to moral principles, renouncing none for the sake of expediency.

►Determination that the free world must remain militarily strong until an effective, rigidly policed disarmament program is reached.

The AFL-CIO's president also suggested a five-point program as an ICFTU proposal to the forthcoming summit meeting:

►A practical disarmament plan effectively controlled and internationally inspected, including President Eisenhower's mutual aerial reconnaissance plan.

►Free elections under United Nations supervision in every area and territory in dispute, including Asia, Africa and Europe, to assure the

population full national and human freedom.

►Free elections for a democratic national assembly to set up an all-German government with voting in the German Federal Republic, including West Berlin, and the Soviet Zone to establish a fully sovereign government in foreign and domestic affairs.

►Total dismantlement of the international Communist organization and all national sections and subversive auxiliary bodies.

►Building the United Nations into a more effective force for preserving peace, promoting human well-being and as an organ for systematically advancing and applying policies calculated to eliminate every vestige of colonialism and imperialism, whether Nineteenth Century or the Communist type.

AFL-CIO Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, a member of the delegation, in a policy address on economic problems, demanded "intelligent, realistic, courageous action" by the world labor movement to prevent a "return to economic isolationism."

He declared creation of international fair labor standards is the only positive solution to the free trade problem. Branding as "essentially negative thinking" the proposals of some labor leaders for maintaining low domestic wage levels to promote trade with highly industrialized nations, Mr. Reuther said labor must



Delegate S. Marcoecchio (left) of Argentina and Nguyen Khan-Van, Vietnam.

narrow wage differentials and not participate in competition based on exploitation.

The basic problem of industrialized nations is learning to achieve dynamic growth by managing an economy of abundance, he asserted.

Mr. Reuther gave the solution as "sharing the fruits of abundance both at home and abroad," warning that the need for prompt action is imperative.

"Wishful thinking is not the answer," he declared. "A strong, intelligent labor policy can provide higher living standards, better educational opportunities, improved medical care and, ultimately, greater leisure through a shorter workweek."

AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph said there is "a dangerous dichotomy" between African labor leaders and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. He warned that Africa may be lost to the free world if the question of African freedom remains unsolved.

"There is an impression," Mr. Randolph said, "that the ICFTU has not definitely made up its mind whether Africa is ready for self-rule. But African leaders are under no obligation to justify their right or readiness for freedom."

Mr. Randolph also dealt with the question, debated at the congress, whether African unions should engage in "politics" or merely deal with economic questions.

"There is a belief," he said, "that a major objective of trade unionism in Africa should be to engage in collective bargaining, recruit members, collect dues and engage solely in the normal operations of other trade unions."

"This approach is entirely in disharmony with the African leadership's first obligation to the African workers to fight for a free Africa, be-

Tom Mboya (left), the head of the Kenya Federation of Labor, has a chat at Brussels with AFL-CIO Vice-President Randolph.



cause only with a free Africa can you build trade unions."

Mr. Meany's address sparked debate when Harry Douglas, general secretary of the British Iron and Steel Workers Federation, argued that if Soviet Premier Khrushchev talked "in the same term as this document [Mr. Meany's speech], there would be no summit conference."

Mr. Douglas disagreed with the AFL-CIO's strong anti-Communist position.

"Is it any good in Asia, Africa or Latin America to preach anti-communism to empty bellies?" he asked.

In addition, the British delegate sharply criticized Mr. Meany's reference to still existing Nineteenth Century imperialism.

Mr. Meany replied that part of the process of being pro-democratic is also to be anti-totalitarian. American labor was anti-Nazi and pro-democratic, said the president of the AFL-CIO, asking how one could be "pro-democratic without being anti-Nazi and anti-Fascist."

"Part of the process of achieving democracy must also be anti-totalitarian," Mr. Meany said. "Should we not be anti-Trujillo because we have no immediate answers to the

workers in the Dominican Republic?

"We want a summit conference, but we want a summit conference with a program. If it isn't possible to have a summit conference with a democratic program, then maybe we'd be better off without a summit conference. I can think of some summit conferences we'd have been better off without—the Stalin-Ribbentrop conference in 1939 and the summit conference at Munich in 1938.

"And as for Nineteenth Century imperialism, I can't subscribe to that. Look at Algeria, Kenya, Nyasaland. Can you tell people in that part of the world that because there is no imperialism in India, it doesn't exist elsewhere? We must call the shots as they are and say that Nineteenth Century imperialism is not dead in all parts of the world."

Africa dominated the congress discussion of the march of peoples everywhere for freedom, equality and bread. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor and chairman of the ICFTU African Regional Organization, outlined the progress made by the English-speaking ICFTU school but called for establishment of a similar institution in French-speaking Africa.



AFL-CIO's James Carey (left) congratulates ICFTU President Arne Geijer on his reelection.

Education, he said, is a vital necessity for African trade unionists.

Mr. Mboya led the discussion on free labor's role in building democracy. He hit hard at the excuses of colonial powers for denying self-government. He said:

"Democracy must concede and guarantee certain fundamental and basic rights, the absence of which must mean the abandonment of democracy for totalitarian or dictatorial systems."

THE HOMELESS OF THE WORLD STILL WAIT



DO YOUR PART DURING
WORLD REFUGEE YEAR

TODAY'S CHILD IN TOMORROW'S WORLD

By **PETER T. SCHOEMANN**

*President, United Association
of Journeymen and Apprentices of the
Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry*

DID you know there are more than 93,000,000 children and young people under 24 in this country today? Ten years from now this figure will top 100,000,000—over half our population. And most of the rest of us spend most of our time and worry and concern over these teeming millions of young folks.

Nothing is more important to us than our children. But children and young people—by the very weight of their numbers—present one of our biggest problems in the rapidly changing times we face today. For the youth of today will shape the nation's future.

For these very reasons the President of the United States, once every ten years since 1909, has called a White House Conference on Children and Youth. This coming year the golden anniversary conference will be held from March 27 to April 2 in Washington.

In 1909 President Theodore Roosevelt personally addressed 217 invitations to people all over the country asking them to come to the first White House Conference on Children and Youth. In 1959 more than 7,000 are preparing to attend the golden anniversary sessions. And even more would be invited if Washington had a big enough meeting place.

Right now church groups, foundations, school officials, welfare workers, scout executives—in short, every type of organization or institution concerned with young people and their problems—all are mobilizing to bring these problems to Washington in March.

Trade unions are no exception. In fact, the AFL-CIO has contributed a very substantial sum of money to-

ward the success of the conference and is a leader in the Council of National Organizations on Children and Youth, which helps run the conference. Many international unions are also taking part, not the least of which is my own organization, the United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters. All of us have a real stake in what the coming conference does and in what it doesn't do.

For the past year a national committee of ninety-two citizens appointed by the President has been making arrangements for the conference.

I have had the honor of serving on this committee as the representative of the AFL-CIO, and I think I can tell something about our aims and how the members of trade unions can help to assure an outstanding conference in keeping with the policies and traditions of a free trade union movement.

In the very beginning, the White House Conference was sparked by a desire to do something better about orphaned children. From this small

start grew great advances for the welfare of our youngest citizens.

The very first conference helped create the United States Children's Bureau in 1912, aided the enactment of much-needed child labor laws and furthered the cause of free public education for all. Each of these accomplishments was and is strictly in line with the goals which our trade unions set for themselves a long time ago.

Today the White House Conference has a very broad purpose. Our job now is to prepare today's children for life in tomorrow's world. We hope to provide a rallying point for a mass attack on every question affecting the well-being of the next generation. We seek a total approach to the total concerns of young people.

This year we have already adopted a formal declaration of purpose for the golden anniversary conference. Our purpose is "to promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity."

AFL-CIO support for White House Conference on Children and Youth takes form of \$10,000 check. In usual order, Peter T. Schoemann, Conference Director Ephraim R. Gomberg and William F. Schnitzler.



This is a large mouthful of words. It means we will look at the way changing times affect our young. We will weigh the values and ideas we live by. We will study those things in life giving each child the fullest chance to develop himself—family, religion, education, health, community life.

To get down to cases, we may take a close look at our child labor laws and see how they can be strengthened or changed or improved. We may look at our training institutions and see whether new types are needed—such as young peoples' conservation camps, proposed not long ago in the Senate.

We surely will give careful attention to our educational system—what we teach, how we teach and where we teach—the quality and quantity of our schools and teachers to meet the tremendous demands of a scientific age.

These are only a few of the things the coming conference may seek to shape by setting a national policy.

WHATEVER the White House Conference on Children and Youth does, the labor movement will be affected. The youth of today and tomorrow will also shape the trade union future. What schools they attend, what they are taught, what age they begin work, how they are trained—all affect attitudes of the future, the climate in which unions must try to exist as the servants of the wage-earners' welfare.

This brings me to my point. We have a job to do, a duty to perform, not simply in self-interest but also in civic interest for the welfare of every community in the country. Labor must take a vigorous part in the golden anniversary White House conference—not just the national AFL-CIO but every state and local central body in the country.

How we can act depends on the way the conference is organized and financed. Briefly, the conference will be run by the people of the United States acting through local, state and national organizations in cooperation with the National Committee.

First, there is a national council of state committees representing governor-appointed committees from fifty states, three island territories, the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

These state committees are holding

meetings to shape state policies to bring to the conference. They are also nominating delegates to the conference who will then be selected by the committee on invitations and credentials of the National Committee. Next, the President will issue invitations accordingly.

Most financing comes from voluntary contributions from foundations or organizations like the AFL-CIO or from individuals, supplementing a modest sum provided by the federal government. Participating organizations provide the bulk of support for the conference. Any international union, for example, can participate by membership on the Council of National Organizations.

When the 7,000 delegates reach Washington next March they will first meet together to hear a keynote address and a welcome by the President. Then the conference will break up into assemblies which, in turn, will be organized into working groups of about thirty each. These working groups will be selected to represent a cross-section of the conference and every viewpoint—the doctor, the lawyer, the educator, the social worker, the teenager, the businessman and the trade unionist.

Each day the assemblies and working groups will consider a different aspect of today's child in tomorrow's world, as planned in advance by the National Committee. Every proposal, every recommendation and all subsequent action will originate in the working groups. In the end the policies adopted by each assembly in the assigned area will be presented to the whole conference for final action.

This program presents a framework for action. Last September, AFL-CIO President George Meany

issued a call to all international unions and state central bodies to join actively in the work of the conference. Local planning is already well advanced.

At the state level, union members have the task of seeking out and acting on the state committees or attending programs under their sponsorship. They should also see to it that our unions are properly represented in the nominations sent to the National Committee for delegates to the conference.

At the national level as many international unions as possible should be on the Council of Organizations because each will then be entitled to at least two delegates to the conference and can effectively extend financial support. The United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters is doing its full share along these lines, and we hope many other join us. We are even sending apprentices as delegates so that they can make their contribution toward shaping their own future.

After trade unionists have done their job locally, we must see to it nationally that labor is properly represented in the various working groups. These groups hold the keys to future policies. Only by grasping these important opportunities can we hope to keep policies of the conference in tune with the aims and best interests of trade unionism.

In every state meetings and research and surveys are being conducted in preparation for the largest conference concerning children and youth ever held in the United States.

Are we in on these meetings? Are we shaping these research activities? Are we helping direct these surveys? We should be. Our future may depend upon it. It's up to you.

Today's youngsters will shape the future of our labor movement.



OUR INVISIBLE PICKET LINE

By JOSEPH LEWIS

*Secretary-Treasurer, Union Label
and Service Trades Department, AFL-CIO*

EARLY each year most merchants take stock. An actual physical inventory is made; every item on the shelves is counted. When this stock-taking is complete, the merchant should know just where he stands.

Many enterprises find at inventory time that, in spite of good sales records, they are losing money and approaching bankruptcy. However, most stock-taking has a happier note. Most inventories show the results of a successful year, help the merchant stock more of the items that sell the best and make possible sound plans for the coming business year.

It might be wise at this time for all of us to pause a while and take stock, too. Maybe we of the trade union movement could look around us, total up our assets and decide how best we can continue to serve those who toil as we move forward toward our goal of better working conditions, improved pay and fringe benefits and greater job security for all Americans.

These are troubled days for labor. Well-organized forces in our land have beset us on every side with vicious attacks designed to take from our members and our organizations the benefits which have been built up through decades of sacrifice and struggle. This is the time to bolster our defenses against additional onslaughts which undoubtedly are to come from the enemies of working people.

At the golden anniversary convention of the Union Label and Service Trades Department last September, AFL-CIO President George Meany pointed out that organized labor is involved in many things. He mentioned our political and legislative activities, our continuing organizing drives and the successes they enjoy, our historic tradition of showing preference for union goods and services when buying and spending.

President Meany summed up by saying that all these activities have



JOSEPH LEWIS

a common purpose—service to the membership of the trade union movement and service to all the citizens of our great nation.

The closing note of President Meany's address to our convention heralded the significant importance of labor's distinguished symbols—the union label, the shop card and the service button—when he referred to these emblems of working people as “an invisible picket line.”

As days pass and more time is available for study of the new law against labor unions recently passed by Congress and signed by the President of the United States, we become more and more aware of the restrictive nature of the legislation.

As COPE Director James L. McDevitt told our convention's delegates, more and more liberties and rights of working people have been carved out and taken away, just as has been done so many other times in the past by the foes of unions.

Look back to 1835, when the Boot and Shoe Makers of Geneva, New York, were charged with “conspiracy.” For fining a journeyman who

had betrayed his fellow craftsmen by working for less than scale, the union was found guilty of “conspiring against trade.” The chief justice of the New York court ruled:

“A man may set his own wage scale but not that of another worker.”

How many other times since 1835 have the foes of workers resorted to judicial and legislative pressures against unions? Small wonder that in our own times we find it so necessary to take a serious interest in this same field as a matter of self-preservation.

THINK of the Homestead lockout. This five-month conflict between the forerunner of United States Steel and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers resulted in the destruction of that union and developed several new management methods to defeat trade unionism. The company locked out the workers, walled in the plant prior to any negotiations, hired 300 company policemen and undertook a tremendous newspaper propaganda campaign in its efforts to break the union.

History tells us that this bloody struggle had repercussions around the world.

In those days organized labor had to fight just to exist. Yet look today at the size and strength of the United Steelworkers of America. Despite its present problems, this great union is forging ahead toward a future of success and continuing service to its membership and to the nation.

In the early 1900s, the National Erectors Association, composed of companies manufacturing iron and steel, won what they called a “victory” by bringing suits against union officers. Thirty union leaders were sentenced to prison terms at Leavenworth. The Erectors Association then turned its power against construction contractors in many large cities, refusing to sell steel to contractors who hired union men.

In 1901 the United Hatters were

so successful in organizing the hat industry that there were only ten "open shop" factories in existence. Two of these manufacturers and a young lawyer contacted all the companies on the unfair list and formed what was called the Anti-Boycott Association.

This group chalked up twelve damage suits against labor in Chicago alone. Publicizing the fact that "yellow dog" contracts were legal, the anti-union organization hampered union workers with a ceaseless barrage of injunctions when attempts were made to increase wages or better working conditions.

We should remember the Danbury Hatters' case and the Buck's Stove and Range Company case. In the latter an injunction obtained by the company forbade the labor movement even to discuss the situation!

Attacks on labor unions are not new. The significant point is that with all the pressures brought upon labor and all the unfair attacks leveled against it throughout its history, the American trade union movement has continued to grow and has continued to serve its members and the communities in which they live.

What has all this to do with the union label, the shop card and the service button? How does this affect the Union Label and Service Trades Department of the AFL-CIO?

THE answer is simple. When one part of the trade union movement is attacked, the blow is felt by all parts of the trade union movement. Laws passed to hamper organization of the unorganized, to make more difficult the effective functioning of legitimate trade unions, to hold down wages and lessen other benefits make it more important than ever before that we use our union-earned wages as an effective weapon and a powerful force to help offset some of these losses.

During 1959 we have been observing our Department's golden anniversary. We have been highlighting the fact that for a half-century there has been in existence a national Department charged with the responsibility of publicizing and promoting the emblems of labor.

Millions of union members and their families and friends all over America have helped to make this golden anniversary celebration a thing of reality. The labor press has



AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler (left) congratulates Label Department President Mara on excellent job of publicizing the emblems of labor.

carried the important message into their homes throughout the year. The national and international unions of the AFL-CIO, the state and city central bodies, women's auxiliaries and our chartered Union Label and Service Trades Councils have made much of the event.

Union Label Week and our San Francisco Union-Industries Show were given over to special promotion of this fiftieth birthday for the national promotion of labor's emblems.

All this outstanding cooperation on the part of the entire trade union movement spells out the intense interest that exists today in goods and services made possible by the handiwork of union workers. During the past two years many national companies have negotiated union label contracts with the unions of their employees and affixed appropriate union labels to their products.

What does it all mean? We are convinced that this reflects an unprecedented interest in the union label, the shop card and the service button on the part of all consumers—our own union members and workers who as yet have not joined unions.

We sincerely believe that this renewed interest shows a greater appreciation on the part of the purchasing public for the high quality represented by the union label, the shop card and the service button. Here is

one of organized labor's most important appeals to public opinion in our nation today—our request that all consumers demand union goods and insist on union services when spending their wages.

Numerous public officials have told us that the potential purchasing power of union families played a great part in helping defeat so-called "right to work" legislation in several states in 1958. Countless thinking citizens—realizing that unions bring better wages and working conditions, more real prosperity to the community and greater spending capacity to all citizens—were awakened to the fact that "wreck" laws were not good for them, whether they were union members or not.

One reason our annual Union-Industries Shows have been so well received by the public in city after city is that the shows vividly and dramatically demonstrate that the union members in any city are the backbone of its economy. Their wages, spent for union products and services, help keep employment in the community at a high level, thus affecting advantageously the well-being of all other segments of the community.

AFL-CIO President Meany was indeed right when he called labor's symbols an invisible picket line. With our union-earned dollars we can wall

in the countless benefits our labor unions have obtained for us.

Naturally, when we say "wall in" we do not mean in any way that all these good benefits have been obtained for union people alone. Labor has traditionally sought and obtained lasting benefits that accrued not only to our own members but to all citizens of our land. It is not necessary to recount the great efforts put forth and massive expense borne by our unions in helping bring about such social improvements as the abolition of child labor, the attainment of workmen's compensation and social security, the minimum wage, improved housing and schools. These things we did not ask to have reserved for trade unionists alone. Instead, we insisted that they be written into the law of the land for all to enjoy.

This "invisible picket line" of ours,

then, is something that benefits all people. Invisibly thrown up around our fair union employers, it tells union members and the friends of unionism that here are the products to buy, the services to patronize.

These are the goods and services that display the union label, the shop card and the service button. These emblems are the hallmarks of fair dealing between employer and worker, the signs of highest quality, the guideposts to true prosperity and full employment.

This same "invisible picket line" of labor's emblems tells the non-union business house:

"Sorry! We can't buy your goods or use your services. Your workers aren't being treated fairly. They are not receiving the benefits of good pay, improved conditions and fringe benefits that come to working people

who belong to effective unions. It isn't that we dislike your workers. It's that we must be loyal to our fellow unionists and help decent employers to stay in business and prosper."

All this points out our God-given and traditionally American right to show our preference for products and services of concerns whose workers, through their unions, are able to buy back the handiwork of their own crafts and skills and services. These are the very principles upon which our democracy and our American way of life are established—man's inherent right to use every just and proper means to better his conditions and those of his fellows.

This is real brotherhood in action—organized labor's "invisible picket line"—the union label, union shop card and union service button.

NAM Seeks More Shackles for Labor

THE National Association of Manufacturers has put organized labor on notice that the Landrum-Griffin Act was a warm-up—that big industry is out to ban industrywide bargaining, rope unions under anti-trust laws and clamp down on labor's political activity. The language of class warfare dominated the NAM's annual meeting in New York. More than 2,000 businessmen were in attendance.

There was no resting on past laurels. NAM leaders and the NAM's Congressional favorites made it clear they felt they had only wounded organized labor, not destroyed it.

"The battle has just begun," declared Congressman Phil M. Landrum of Georgia. The co-author of the Landrum-Griffin Act said the new law is "only the foundation for real reform."

"Great credit" must go to the NAM for creating public support of the Landrum-Griffin Act, said Congressman Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, chairman of the House Labor Committee. But, he added, the industrialists must get busy again.

"Just because you gained thirty yards, don't let that hold you from going the other seventy yards for a touchdown," Barden said.

"Company-level bargaining is the only way" to safeguard economic

freedom, protect the public and stop inflation as "a major crisis" of a renewed steel strike and a railroad walkout looms, warned Charles R. Sligh, Jr., NAM executive vice-president.

"After twenty years of signing these [fringe] gimmicks, industry has finally got so loaded up it can no longer function with the so-called work rules," was the comment of incoming President Rudolph F. Bannow on "so-called collective bargaining."

The Landrum-Griffin Act's passage must not divert industry's attention from "the larger, more basic and threatening problem, * * * the unsound economics most labor leaders espouse," said Vice-President Millard E. Stone of the Sinclair Oil Corporation. To halt "wage-push inflation," he said, members of the NAM must "be willing to take strikes if necessary."

Sligh set the NAM meeting's tone in a pre-convention press conference. He traced the developing "major crisis" of a renewed steel strike and "the threat of a nationwide railroad strike in early spring" to industrywide bargaining. His solution:

"Company-level bargaining is the only way we can safeguard the principles of economic freedom and at the same time protect the public

against crippling strikes on the one hand or continuous wage-price inflation as the alternative."

In a panel on taxes, Congressman Charles A. Halleck of Indiana, minority leader of the House, said the only hope for tax relief was lower government spending. He also warned that overcentralization of authority would lead to socialism. President Thomas J. Watson of International Business Machines warned that industry must accept higher taxes if America is to maintain world leadership.

The NAM meeting's accent was on labor. If the industrialists moved organized labor in as the target, the anti-union Congressmen provided a legislative backdrop.

Congressman Landrum was most enthusiastically received. He said the new law "does not effectively deal with the issue of the great sums of money expended by labor organizations in political campaigns."

Turning to the federal Wage and Hour Act and the labor-backed bill to raise the \$1 hourly minimum to \$1.25 and bring millions more under the law's coverage, Congressman Landrum said:

"We see a fungus-creating and fungus-spreading bureaucracy which wishes to engulf all business, all enterprise, all employes within its deathlike embrace."

AFRICA

Challenge to World Democracy

By HARRY GOLDBERG

AFL-CIO International Representative

THE revolution that is sweeping Africa is so fundamental and so rapid that one can hardly keep up with the daily kaleidoscopic changes. The revolution is many-sided, economic, social, political—all simultaneous and all overlapping.

Africa is seeking to pass with utmost rapidity from a feudalistic—indeed, in many places, a primitive, tribal age—into the Twentieth Century, into the modern atomic age.

For Africans it is a leap from a centuries-old darkness into the light. Africa is determined to have its freedom, and there is no more any question but that it will. The only problems remaining are *when* and *how*. Whether any damaging degree of violence accompanies the transition period or whether the inevitable transformation will be one of reasonably steady progress depends substantially on the wisdom shown by the West.

There are some who are still trying to hold back the tide. Psychologic descendants of the colonialists, they are difficult to convince that the "good old days" are gone forever.

"Africa is not ready for independence," runs the argument. "Its people are still too backward, too illiterate in their majority, without the sociological and technological knowledge and skills necessary to run a modern industrial society."

These gentlemen lose sight of the fact that the very backwardness they cite is itself the by-product of that colonialist system they seek to perpetuate. It is hardly cricket to give *that* as the reason for denying independence.

That the many weaknesses inherited from their colonialist past will plague the African nations once they have attained their independence is undoubted; that mistakes will be

made in attempting to solve the grave and manifold problems facing them is true. But that is no moral or principled reason for withholding sovereignty.

Let them make their mistakes. They are entitled to them; they will learn from them. In order to learn to swim, they must first be allowed to enter the water. The mistakes will be fewer, the dislocations and resentments less if a helping hand is offered them over the rough places.

Those who wistfully cast their glances back to the lost "beauties" of the colonialist age point out how it purportedly helped the Africans: It opened up the continent, built the roads and the railroads, helped improve agricultural methods, started the industries going, opened up educational facilities, immeasurably raised the health standards of the natives, etc., etc.

That a good deal of this was accomplished goes without saying and shouldn't be belittled (and one must pay tribute to the devotion and selfless labor over the years of the engineers and missionaries and doctors and teachers).

These are good in themselves and will prove valuable to a developing Africa in future. But they were essentially by-products of the colonialist structure, made necessary for the more efficient exploitation of the continent by the colonialist masters whose basic motivation remained control and profit.

And of the enormous riches—agricultural and mineral—tapped and realized over the years, how much of it went (and to this day goes) to the Africans?

To ask the question is to answer it. The overwhelming majority of Africans were and are forcibly kept in an inferior position, at the very

bottom of the scale economically, socially, politically, culturally.

It is this utter degradation of their personality which is applying the spark to the fervid nationalism of the Africans and giving it such a racist tinge. They want to recover their feeling of dignity as human beings of which they have been forcibly deprived for so long, to change their status from *things*, mere objects of exploitation and oppression, to individuals with rights and responsibilities.

To direct themselves, to control their own destinies is their overruling passion. That is why the political problem—*independence and freedom*—is so central and overriding. That is why bettering their conditions, raising their wages, lessening their hours of work—important as they are—do not exhaust their strivings and would not completely satisfy when attained, assuming they could be attained in a state of political subjection. That is why leading African unionists are also leaders of the national struggle for independence.

It has been argued, "It is meaningless to preach democracy, freedom, anti-communism to empty bellies. We must fill the bellies first, and so the trade union struggle for better conditions must have priority."

The most charitable evaluation of such arguments would emphasize only their lack of realism.

Do not the proponents of such arguments realize that the economic and political struggles are concurrent and integral; that a Free Africa would be the better and sooner able to fill the empty bellies of its people; that only a Free Africa would permit the free and full development of independent trade unions, the chief instrument for attaining the very aims mentioned?

Even today the free activity of trade unions in various parts of Africa is hindered in countries controlled, unfortunately, by various democratic countries of the West. Freedom must come first, and as soon as possible!

I do not know how many more examples the West needs to have before it will learn certain historical lessons. A philosopher once said, "Those who forget past history are doomed to repeat it." And the lack of sufficient vision and conscience to date apparent in the West creates a legitimate fear that episodes like Indo-China may be repeated in Africa.

Nothing less than a generous meeting halfway of the legitimate aspirations of Africa for political freedom and social betterment can prevent it from going the other way. Any compromising with basic democratic principles, any half-hearted attempts to perpetuate the outworn, reactionary structure of colonialism can only open the door to an ever-willing and ever-ready communism.

THE newer, more cynical and despotical brand of Communist imperialism falsely identifies itself with national aspirations in order to exploit for its own ends the frustration of legitimate aims. To date Moscow hasn't made too much headway in Africa, but it is already in and making strenuous efforts to extend its influence.

Moscow is preparing its cadres of propagandists and organizers. On August 31, 1959, according to reports furnished by the Russians themselves, the WFTU organized a school in Budapest, Hungary, specifically to train propagandists for Africa. *World Trade Union News* (No. 16) stated that each course would last four weeks and be attended by over thirty trade unionists from ten African countries.

"The aim of this school for African trade unionists," the report said, "is to improve the training of these trade unionists so as to help them in their struggle for better living conditions for the workers, to defend and win the national and economic independence of their countries, for the achievement of unity and the strengthen-

ing of the trade union organizations.

"The courses will concentrate specifically on problems of the anti-colonialist struggle and the role of the working class and the trade unions in the national liberation movement, the economic and social problems of the underdeveloped countries, the role of the trade unions in improving and defending social security and trade union liberties, the forms of trade union organization, the fight for peace and problems of unity—all essential prerequisites for success in the workers' struggles."

The Communists understand the importance to the Africans of the struggle for independence and in their propaganda do not neglect it. If we fail to understand the importance of the independence movement, then we guarantee the success of the Communists' propaganda.

How diverse and conglomerate Africa is! So much so that aside, perhaps, from the universal desire for freedom which unites all Africa, one cannot speak of Africa as one. For it is too divided on all levels for that, and its tangled variety reflects all levels of society from the primitive (tribal) through the feudal to the modern industrial, and they all rub elbows together.

Modern and beautiful cities like Casablanca, Dakar, Algiers, Nairobi, Salisbury, etc., almost seem like

an anachronism against the background of the rest of Africa, the little towns and villages (and the bush) where the majority of Africa's 220,000,000 live.

Religion and language divide the people fundamentally. There are about 700 spoken languages, only a handful of them written, and most Africans cannot understand most other Africans. The development of a common language of communication is one of the great problems for an Africa that dreams of unity on a continental scale.

More than one-third of all Africans are still pagan and animistic; about one-third are Moslem; the remainder are Christians or adherents of some minor sects.

Customs, character and cultural influences vary greatly from the Arab (diluted by French) culture of the Northwest through the exclusively Arab of Egypt and the Northeast, to the dominantly pagan of central so-called Dark Africa, south of the Sahara.

Some Africans live in already independent countries (Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Tunisia, Morocco, etc.); others are on the verge of independence (Nigeria, Tanganyika, etc.); others are struggling for independence (Kenya, the Belgian colonies); still others have accepted being a part of a French community (most of French West Africa, which is still in flux),

while still others are held in complete bondage (notably South Africa and the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola). And this still does not exhaust the various types, for there are "in-betweens," administered UN territories, semi-autonomous territories, etc.

All this great diversity and difference dramatically pinpoint the enormous difficulties facing an Africa that is on the threshold of sovereignty.

A mass movement of the sweep and depth of African nationalism and so charged emotionally cannot take place in a completely ordered and controlled fashion. Africa will have its enormous problems to solve even under independence. We are not so naive as to suppose that independence by itself will automatically guarantee the overcoming of obstacles. As



First of all, the African wants freedom.



elsewhere, human nature will assert itself, and we will have (as we already see signs of) divisionism, and jealousy, and striving for power, and injustice.

Whether this will remain a minor ripple on the surface of African developments or become a major disturbance depends substantially on the character of the emerging African leadership itself, whether in addition to the expected nationalist fervor and militancy there will be the desirable leavening of realism and moderation. This is the subjective factor in the situation and represents the other side of the shield in the African Revolution.

To the extent that the West offers an understanding and cooperative hand, to that extent will the negative features in future development be less. The West owes that much at the very least to emerging Africa, for it has much to make up for the past evils it has visited upon the continent.

But those elements in the West, the democratic labor movement above all, which have acted as the conscience of its own society and been an unsparing critic of its weaknesses and vacillations and been in the forefront of the struggle for freedom for Africa, have the right to expect a degree of objective realism and maturity from the new leaders of Africa, the right to ask that the subjective (and legitimate) resentments of Africa and the frustrations still felt because of the feet-dragging by the still too-colonialist elements in the West, not blind it to the far greater threat that imperialist communism holds for the freedom so yearned for, so needed, so deserved.

Africa cannot and should not go it alone, and the democratic world, for all its imperfections, contains its

natural allies in the long struggle for a free, democratic and prosperous Africa against all those everywhere who threaten its political independence and its strivings for economic betterment and social justice.

That Africa should not go it alone does not mean that it shouldn't go *its own way*. Inevitably Africa will (and should) build up its structures according to its own genius, in its own image, in line with its own historical traditions, conditions, psychology and cultures. That Africa should not be humble goes without saying, but Africa also should not be too proud to learn from certain universal experiences of the good, or to participate in actions that will not only help it but strengthen democracy the world over.

There are two problems of outstanding importance on which African leaders are already divided. One concerns the internal structure of the state and the second the ideology of the developing trade union movements.

SHALL the state be authoritarian or democratic? Shall it be a one-party state or shall opposition parties be allowed? Should the trade unions be independent or should they be controlled by the state? Should the unions be organizationally part of the anti-Communist democratic world movement represented by the ICFTU, or should they develop along the line of a neutralist Pan-African movement, part neither of the ICFTU nor of the Communist-controlled WFTU?

The resolution of these differences will have great impact upon the future political stability of Africa. It is interesting to note that the chief protagonists both of an authoritarian state and a neutralist Pan-African trade union movement are Ghana and Guinea. A word as to each issue.

One should avoid, of course, pontifical pronouncements on problems of such genuine difficulty. The obstacles to be overcome in these newly independent African states are so great, the problems in the way of achieving a viable economic society are so complex that one can appreciate the argument that all political energy must be concentrated on building, and that this must be centrally directed and controlled, and precious energy cannot be allowed to be wasted on the "friveries" of democratic squabbles of a multi-party system.

Such democratic overindulgence, the argument continues, would be dangerous also in societies which haven't had sufficient experience in democratic institutions or processes. All must therefore subordinate themselves to the common task.

The basic attitude expressed here seems to me, in spite of its superficial persuasiveness, to suffer from oversimplification.

In the first place, it is difficult to impose a unity upon countries of such great internal diversity. A forced, false unity is only an invitation to future conflict.

Secondly, there is always the temptation of continuing one-party (and too often one-man) dictatorships. The corruptibility of dictatorial regimes is proverbial. Power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely!

Thirdly, in societies which need democratic experience, how can it be gotten under a police-state regime? Some middle way must be found between irresponsible multi-party politicking and centralized, authoritarian control, where an opposition may at least be allowed to function and express its critical point of view. Minority peoples can be won over to loyalty to the new state only if they feel that their viewpoint has some representation and presentation. Exiling them or imprisoning them, as has been done in Ghana, is wasting potentially valuable human material which the new states can ill afford to lose.

As to the ideologic character of the developing African trade union movement: Should it be pro-democratic and marching with the ICFTU or neutralistic and outside the world organization of free, democratic trade unions? The two opposed viewpoints were symbolized by the two African trade union congresses recently held at Lagos in Nigeria and Accra in Ghana.

The Lagos conference represented the majority of Africa's organized trade unionists and, led by Tom Mboya of Kenya, stayed with the ICFTU, thus symbolizing its agreement with the necessity of staying with the democratic world in its fight versus communism and colonialism.

The Accra conference dedicated to neutralist, Pan-African trade unionism accounted for a much smaller group of trade unionists—those chiefly from Ghana, Guinea and Morocco.

There were observers also from Egypt and Algeria.

The division is an exceedingly regrettable one. For its own sake, above all, in its struggle for continental independence, most of which is still to be won, unity of Africa's trade unionists is highly desirable. Secondly, our friends of Ghana and Guinea surely must be aware of the fact that breaking away from the democratic labor movement of the world is exactly what the Communists want; that a Pan-African movement will only enable the latter the more easily to infiltrate into such a movement to work for communism's world aims.

The American labor movement asks our friends of Ghana and Guinea and Morocco to reconsider whether their impatience with weaknesses and hesitations in the democratic world is not driving them on to a false road, which will only isolate them from their best friends. The AFL-CIO desires nothing so much as the unification of all African trade unionists into one strong organization on a democratic basis which will be the better able to fight for the future independence and prosperity of a free Africa.

THE U.S. can't avoid playing a leading role in Africa's future. Born in a revolutionary struggle for independence from colonial control, with democratic traditions and instincts, the leader of a Free World that is battling world communism for the minds of men, everything dictates that America's attitude toward emerging independent Africa

be a generous and forward-looking one, that our entire weight in international affairs be thrown on the side of help and cooperation.

Unfortunately, to date the record has not been as pristine as it might. Without for a moment belittling the importance of maintaining solidarity with our allies around NATO and the defense of Western Europe, and recognizing the delicacy of the tactical approach forced upon us by our relations with France, it must definitely be said that America's stand on the Algerian question leaves much to be desired.

Algerian independence is a burning symbol for all of Africa, and our wobbling on the question—in spite of our basic sympathy for African freedom—has definitely left the impression with Africans that we worry more about offending France than we do about the Africans' legitimate aspirations.

Or take our carelessness, sometimes, *vis-à-vis* the melancholy phenomenon at the other end of the continent, South Africa, which is the concentrated symbol of everything negative and evil in colonialist control and oppression.

According to a report published in the very reputable *Christian Science Monitor* (October 8, 1959), a national broadcast in South Africa was made by the American Ambassador there, Philip Crowe, and in that broadcast he said:

"The United States and South Africa are partners (!!) in the modern world's outstanding phenomenon, the awakening of Africa. * * * [This partnership is] made easier by our

common heritage of Western values, our similar backgrounds of pioneer history, our like spiritual and religious beliefs and our fundamental desire to place the individual rather than the state at the center of political systems."

THIS is absolutely incredible and incredibly stupid. Granting the usual exaggerations of diplomatic niceties, how could the top representative of the U.S. in South Africa allow himself to insist on a purported identity of ideals between the U.S. and South Africa?

Nothing could be calculated more effectively to turn the Africans against us. Such a statement destroys at one blow much of the good work which has been patiently done by American representatives in Africa. The tragedy is compounded by the fact that the sentiments expressed do not represent the real views of the United States.

Algeria in North Africa, apartheid in South Africa! Two ends of a nutcracker which will squeeze the West out of Africa if the failures of conscience and intelligence they represent are not overcome. At stake is not only the life of Africa but the very life of Western democratic society itself.

If Africa is allowed to fall into the agonies of racial antagonism, tribal divisionism, economic disruption and political instability because of the lack of vision of the West, then it will turn from the West and the victory of world communism over world democracy will be made that much easier. And time is running out!

Your Union and You

Your union is exactly what you make it—no more, no less.

There's just one way of making sure that your union will function as you want it to function—you must regularly attend union meetings and participate to the fullest extent in all the affairs of your organization.

Be active! Do your full duty as a good citizen and a good trade unionist. Don't skip meetings and shift your responsibilities as a union member to the shoulders of others.

Attend meetings regularly. Give careful thought to the various problems and issues confronting your union. When you have something to say, speak up. Make known the course you believe your union should follow. And when the time to vote on a proposition arrives, vote wisely.

Yes, it is a fact—your union is what you and your fellow members make it.

Take an interest! Attend every meeting! It's your union. Help make it a dandy!

Organized Labor and the Minority Worker Need Each Other

By BORIS SHISHKIN

Director, Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO

A MERICAN labor has dedicated itself to more intensive efforts in the months ahead to secure equal rights and equal justice for Americans in every field of life.

Actions unanimously taken by the last convention of the AFL-CIO have reinforced and intensified the civil rights program of the AFL-CIO and have given civil rights to top priority among the goals and program objectives of the entire American labor movement.

Why does organized labor attach top importance to the protection of equal rights to all Americans, in labor's own ranks, in employment, in housing and every field of life? The first reason is, of course, the moral reason. Discrimination against people because of their race, their creed or the color of their skin is morally wrong. But another compelling reason is that such discrimination hurts organized labor.

When minority workers remain outside trade union ranks and do not have the benefits of union-maintained standards, they are forced to accept lower conditions and inferior benefits in their employment. They thus become the source of unfair competition undermining the prevailing union-won standards. Organized labor, therefore, wants and needs to have all workers within its ranks, without regard to race, creed or color, on the basis of full and complete equality.

As we look upon the rapidly changing industrial scene and discern the shape of things to come, it becomes clear that the minority workers need unions just as much as unions need them. We live in a time

of swift technological change in industry. Automation is sweeping through the plants and workshops of America. Automation makes it possible to have machines, instead of men, operate machines.

The advance of automation through industry means far-reaching changes in the structure of labor force. Automation results in growing demand for highly skilled workers. On the other hand, it means a relative decline in the industrial requirements for workers in lower skill classifications.

Denial of equal opportunity to minority workers by employers in the past has led to undue concentration of these workers in the lower skill classifications. As a result the rapid spread of automation will hit hard the minority worker in industry. For him it will create serious problems of job security and of find-

ing other suitable employment. Who will help the minority worker to meet these problems so crucial to him? The employer?

The evidence makes it clear that corporate management is not discharging its responsibility to accord equal opportunity to workers without regard to race, creed or color.

To be sure, there are exceptions. The International Harvester Company, for example, has done an outstanding job of furthering non-discrimination policy in its facilities. North American Aviation is another company that has established a notable record.

But these companies along with a few others are the exceptions that prove the rule.

The truth is that employers generally have been grossly derelict in their duties both to the workers and to the community in their failure to further equal rights and opportunity in employment. The fact is that there is not one national association of manufacturers or trade association in the United States that has a civil rights policy, a civil rights program or any staff to advance fair employment opportunities in industry.

The minority worker on the modern industrial scene clearly needs help in achieving employment security and in successfully adjusting to rapidly changing conditions. Only labor unions can provide this help to him. For it is the labor movement that has demonstrated by past performance its ability to bring equal employment opportunity and fair employment practices within the reach of the minority worker. It was organized labor that launched



Labor is working for fair play for Americans in every field.

a drive for fair employment practice legislation, national, state and local, and is carrying a daily fight for enforceable and well-administered FEPC laws.

It was organized labor, also, that initiated the drive for the inclusion of non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining contracts in industry. Today these clauses, accepted by employers but initiated and insisted upon by unions, provide the most important single instrumentality to assure non-discrimination on our industrial scene.

The labor movement needs the minority worker within its ranks and the minority worker needs the labor movement in this hour of need. The minority worker needs the union, he needs to stand together with his union brothers, if he is to overcome the disadvantages pressed against him today and to meet successfully the even greater challenge of changing technology in the years ahead.

Although labor is making good progress in civil rights, much more remains to be done. There are still many situations in which all of us must help bring about corrective action and full compliance with the civil rights mandate of the AFL-CIO.

The need, however, is for much more than corrective action. There is pressing need also for preventive action. Ways and means need to be developed by unions to make sure in advance that willing and voluntary effort of their membership will prevent any possible infraction of AFL-CIO non-discrimination policy in any form.

LABOR's civil rights objectives are broad and wide-ranging. They include our concern in non-discrimination in employment, in housing, in schools and in all forms of public accommodation and recreation as well as the right of all citizens to vote.

To attain these objectives there is much for each of us to do.

But the overriding practical objective, which calls for special priority and special concentration in the days immediately ahead, is the campaign waged by the labor movement and by all good friends of civil rights to secure the enactment of a good civil rights bill in the next session of Congress.

In the closing hours of the last session, the majority leader of the Senate, with agreement from the minority leader, set the date of February 15, 1960, as the day on which

the Senate will act on civil rights legislation. Mark well this date of February 15, 1960. This is the target date. This is the date for which we must prepare.

Labor's call for a proper civil rights enactment by this Congress was issued by the AFL-CIO convention, meeting in San Francisco last September.

The civil rights resolution unanimously adopted by the AFL-CIO convention said:

"We call for the enactment of a proper federal Civil Rights Law to make possible enforcement of the civil rights of our citizens, including a grant of powers to the Attorney General to seek injunctive relief in cases involving abuses of the rights of American citizens."

Inclusion of this provision in the civil rights bill is the heart of the matter. This is the vital Part III cut out by the opposition from the civil rights bill as enacted into law in 1957. It is a civil rights bill with this provision that we of the labor movement consider meaningful and are fighting for.

The battle for civil rights is a battle for justice. By standing and fighting for a good civil rights bill, we can gain the victory we seek.

FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Fighting Your Fight

From United Paper

When you get past the newspaper ballyhoo and the legalistic mumbo-jumbo, the steel strike boils down to people versus money—and there are no neutrals. Which side are you on? If you're a union member, the choice has been made for you—by steel management.

Skim over labor history and you'll see the impact of Big Steel union-management relations upon wages and working conditions in every basic industry of our economy. Like it or not, the barons of Big Steel are still the bellwether of management throughout the U.S. and Canada.

If they can break the will of the Steelworkers and force that great union to surrender and stand by helpless while twenty years of collective bargaining progress are ripped from the guts of its contracts, if the Steelworkers Union is forced to its knees, it will signal the greatest corporate onslaught against union-negotiated working conditions in history.

If the steel strike is busted, the chances of your being out on the bricks, come your contract expiration, will be greater than ever—either that, or be prepared for the speed-ups, the pay cuts, the scrapping

of conditions carefully built into your agreement over the years.

It makes sense, it's sound insurance, for us to do something to make sure the Steelworkers do not lose. Anyone with a grain of sense can see the difference between a few bucks' contribution each month and foregoing an entire paycheck by being on strike. When the officers of your local union come to you about this, be prepared to do your share. Help the men fighting your fight, those who are sacrificing now so that you need not sacrifice later.

Class War

From The Machinist

The leadership of American industry—that part represented by the National Association of Manufacturers—presented an unwholesome spectacle at its annual get-together in New York's swanky Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

In this Twentieth Century no union convention has ever witnessed such a virulent, sustained attack against employers as the NAM speakers heaped on unions. Had any union ever programmed such a bare-faced class attack against industry, the NAM would have demanded that the red squad go in with tear gas and the Un-American

Activities Committee would have dispatched investigators. And there would have been reason to suspect foreign influence. For what the NAM members heard was not what most Americans expect from an American organization.

Political Action

From CWA News

Here's one businessman who thinks that business should get into politics—but not for selfish reasons. Joseph M. Baird, president of the Baird Chemicals Corporation, wrote in *Chemical Week* that business should get politically active for the common good.

He wrote:

"Politics, as I understand it, concerns itself with all aspects of communal life. Why must the proposed accent for the businessman be on such key areas as 'pricing, anti-trust, tariffs, regulation, labor'? What about the need for schools? For adequate medical care? For decent housing? For national security? I am reluctant to believe that businessmen are indifferent to these needs. As a very practical matter, I know that they cannot be indifferent to them unless they intend to migrate entirely out of American life."

Communists Control Labor in Cuba

By SERAFINO ROMUALDI
AFL-CIO Inter-American Representative

THE most significant development in the recent convention of the Cuban Congress of Labor—the first since the victory of Fidel Castro—was the complete purge of anti-Communist elements from any significant position of leadership in the new CTC administration.

Three known anti-Communists who had been serving on the CTC executive board since last January have been eliminated. They were Conrado Becquer, Reinol Gonzalez and J. A. Plana. All three were prominent in the underground struggle against the Batista dictatorship.

In order to save the appearances of "unity," those who managed the convention from behind the scenes had to leave on the thirteen-man executive board at least one known anti-Communist. They chose Octavio Loit, the most outspoken anti-Communist at the convention, secretary of organization and the No. 2 man in the former directorate; but they relegated him to the window-dressing position of "delegate to official and employer organizations," where he would wield no significant power or influence.

In his place as secretary of organization the convention elected Jesus Soto, outspoken pro-Communist. Another fellow-traveler, if not an actual Communist, Alvares de la Campa, was elected to the key post of secretary of foreign relations, in place of Reinol Gonzalez.

The convention started with the 26th of July Movement having the overwhelming majority of the delegates. The Communists had less than 15 per cent. Another group composed of leaders belonging to the Autentico (Democratic) Party commanded the allegiance of a sizable number of delegates, all experienced trade union leaders. But its effectiveness collapsed when the 26th of July leadership imposed from above a policy of collaboration with the Communists.

Early reports from Cuba emphasized the fact that no publicly known, card-carrying member of the

Communist party was elected to the CTC executive board. This was interpreted as a defeat for the Communists and a "rebuke" to Fidel Castro, who had advocated their inclusion.

Now that all the facts are available, it is clear that the Communists had practically their own way in everything else.

THE convention resolved to withdraw its affiliation with the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) and announced its intention of setting up a new Latin American confederation of trade unions with headquarters in Havana under the direction of the CTC. This is precisely what the Communists had been advocating for quite some time, and this is the line that Communists and fellow-travelers are supporting in Chile, Uruguay, Venezuela and elsewhere.

The convention demonstrated that democratic anti-Communist sentiment is very strong among the rank-and-file Cuban trade unionists. However, in an atmosphere of psychological violence such as the one that prevailed throughout the convention—where every word of disagreement with the policy laid down by Fidel Castro and his henchmen was termed "treason" to the fatherland and the revolution—these democratic forces had no chance to prevail.

The convention adopted a number of resolutions. Most of them reflect the current Communist party line in international affairs. Others, which caused uneasiness among the older and mature Cuban labor leaders and veritable consternation among the rank and file, called for placing a one year's ban on all strikes, contribution of a day's pay from each individual member toward payment for arms purchased by the Cuban government and a 4 per cent wage deduction to create a fund for Cuba's industrialization.

The convention rejected a proposal to raise to \$100 a month the minimum wage for Cuban workers.

The decision adopted by the Cuban CTC to leave the ORIT-ICFTU and to launch a rival organization composed exclusively of Latin American unions is a threatening step that cannot be taken lightly. However, this is not the first time that attempts have been made by Communists and other totalitarian forces to disrupt the unity of the free labor movement in the Western Hemisphere.

Perón tried to do the same thing with his ATLAS, the Latin American organization which he was lavishly financing. But ATLAS vainly tried to gain the support of Latin American workers by emphasizing a so-called third neutral position and a violent anti-U.S. attitude. When Perón fell, ATLAS faded away.

ALWAYS ASK FOR
THE UNION LABEL



Dues Usually Moderate

THE typical union affiliated with the AFL-CIO charges moderate initiation fees and monthly dues, pays some form of strike benefits and levies assessments only on rare occasions and then under strict constitutional controls.

A survey of union financial practices made by William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, at the request of the Conference of Secretary-Treasurers brought replies from 112 unions, representing 84 per cent of the AFL-CIO membership.

The survey gave this picture of trade union financial practices:

MONTHLY DUES

The average figure for monthly dues of the unions reporting was \$3.50. Seventy-five per cent of the unions charged between \$2 and \$5.

Most of the unions charging above \$6 a month financed special pension funds, strike or death benefits out of payments. Craft union dues tended to be higher than those of industrial unions, with an average of \$4.75. Government employe unions had the lowest average dues of \$2.25.

PER CAPITA TAX

The great majority of international unions receive per capita tax of between 50 cents and \$2 a month. Only eighteen unions reported a higher per capita tax.

The constitutions of forty-one unions require that part of the per capita tax be set aside for a strike fund, twenty-four specify death benefits, and nine others earmark a portion of the income for a pension fund.

INITIATION FEES

There was a wide range of initiation fees, but an analysis of seventy-eight unions which answered this section of the questionnaire shows the typical initiation fee to be \$7.50. Fifty-one unions reported fees were \$5 and under; the average for fifteen others ranged between \$5 and \$10, and twenty-seven unions charged more than \$10.

The range, even within unions, was considerable since some international unions set minimum fees, others set maximums and still others leave the amount entirely to the discretion of the local union. In twenty-two of the unions reporting, a uniform initiation fee is set by the international.

REINSTATEMENT FEES

The most common provision for reinstatement is a fee equal to the initiation fee. In forty-two unions, where a specific uniform initiation fee is set by the international union, it is most commonly \$10 or less.

ASSESSMENTS

Only seventeen unions reported having levied assessments since the merger of the AFL-CIO in 1955. Ten unions assessed their members during 1958 and only six assessments were reported during the first half of 1959. About half of the assessments were under \$5.

STRIKE FUNDS

Forty-eight unions reported that they maintain special strike funds. Nearly half of the strike funds have been set up since 1949 and the survey notes that "an increasing number

of unions have adopted this practice."

Eighteen funds were established since 1954. Thirty-five of the reporting unions say their strike funds are specifically limited to the payment of strike benefits.

STRIKE BENEFITS

Of 110 unions responding to this question, sixty-nine paid strike benefits, forty-six of them as a matter of right of all strikers and twenty-three based on individual need. Where uniform benefits are paid, the amount varies from \$10 a week to \$70 a week, with the majority under \$25. In some cases the amount of benefits is based on the size of the worker's family.

The most frequent qualifications for strike benefits are that the strike be duly authorized by the international, that the individual striker be a member in good standing and that he fulfill his regular strike or picket duties. Most unions require a waiting period of one or two weeks before benefits are paid.

FUND INVESTMENT

The most common type of investment for union funds continues to be government bonds. Eight unions are required by their constitutions to invest only in treasury bonds, while thirteen others are limited to bonds or government-insured securities.

Sixty-one unions are investing in some type of government security. Forty-three unions have investments in savings banks, thirty-four in building and loan associations, thirteen in corporate stock, eleven in corporation bonds and twelve in real estate mortgages.

BE WISE ...

OBSERVE ALL SAFETY RULES

Railroad Propaganda

(Continued from Page 6)

aren't proposing adjustments of this kind. All that they really mean is that they want to preserve these conditions but make their employees perform 60 per cent more work for the same unit pay.

To offset this clearly unbearable loss in take-home pay, the railroads also are advancing another proposal involving the mileage ceilings of engine crews. At present the average crew operates 4,800 miles per month in passenger service and approximately 3,200 miles per month in freight service.

What would this proposed rules change really mean? It would place thousands of enginemen out of work. A few high seniority men would be allowed to make higher overall earnings, but at a great increase in their total working hours. Here a safety factor enters. Higher speed trains mean greater strain upon the enginemen and consequently greater fatigue. Instead of lengthening hours as train speeds rise, the requirements of safety demand that the total be steadily reduced.

A third rules change which has been asked by the railroads involves the location of terminal points. The railroads are asking for authority to establish and relocate existing terminal points at their own discretion. On the surface, such a proposal may not seem so significant, but let us look at some of its implications.

WHAT is involved is literally the creation of ghost towns in many areas and the destruction of billions of dollars in property values with no appreciable advantages to the railroads. Railroad communities—and there are many of them—depend almost solely upon the men and women who work and live there. If income among railroad workers drops or disappears, all of the business establishments in these communities suffer.

Whenever one of these terminal points is moved, a great economic and social upheaval occurs for the people involved. Engine and train crewmen, who have usually purchased homes in these communities, must move in order to preserve their jobs and their source of income. Dispatchers, yardmen, shopmen and

clerks must follow. These railroad families, whose life savings have been invested in homes near the abolished terminal point, thus find much of their equity wiped out because they must try to dispose of them at a time when the market has completely vanished.

With the departure of these railroad families goes the reason many towns have for existing. Schools, recreational facilities, municipal buildings—all erected at considerable cost by the community—stand empty and unused, and these once prosperous communities plunge into decline. The economic loss is made all the more tragic by the uprooting of the lives of good citizens, whose roots and friendships are in the communities which the railroads want the unilateral right to abolish.

Also involved in this proposal is the seniority protection of the men who operate from one division point to another. The carriers seek to disrupt the seniority that years of faithful service have gained for those who have spent five, ten, twenty and even thirty and more years in the industry.

There is a human element in every industry and business. Too often we

mistake production, automation and technological progress as controlling factors in life rather than relate them to the overall concept of human values. People have human needs, human desires and human rights. Machines should not supersede those things, nor should they control our outlook on life. Machines should work for humanity.

A certain amount of specialization exists in the railroad industry. The shopmen know their jobs well, as do switchmen, brakemen, conductors, firemen and engineers. Another type of specialization is found in the difference between yard and road assignments among engine and train crews. It is one thing for an engineer and his fireman to know the intricate switching assignments of a huge yard and another to know the roadbed, track curvature and grade and other requirements of a road assignment. The same is applicable to train men and yard switchmen. Their jobs demand distinct knowledge and skill which provide for safe and efficient operation.

A yard crew cannot be expected to take a long freight train over tracks foreign to them. Nor can a road crew coming off a run be expected to perform yard switching in dangerously unfamiliar surroundings and conditions. It's something like asking a railroad vice-president of

Editor Accuses Railroads

THE railroad industry is trying to use its advertising dollars to buy editorial support for its "featherbedding" charges against its employees, a South Dakota weekly newspaper has asserted.

The newspaper, the *Salem Special*, told its readers that an order for a paid advertisement by the Association of American Railroads was "accompanied by instructions in which we were requested to position the ad opposite an 'appropriate' editorial."

Risking the cancellation of the railroad industry's heavy advertising schedule—a fate which befell the *Gazette of Charleston*, West Virginia, for editorially criticizing the misleading "featherbedding" accusations—the South Dakota newspaper declared:

"This is clearly an instance of an

advertiser seeking to use an advertising order as pressure to secure editorial support for its position. Advertising is a commodity, and when it is purchased that's what the advertiser gets. The editorial support of this newspaper isn't for sale and never will be.

"This is an example of the efforts that are made by powerful national organizations to influence the press of the country and to attempt to subvert it in exchange for a few dollars in business.

"Whenever any publication succumbs to this sort of pressure, it kills a free press in its area. Such publication becomes false to the first principles of newspapering and trades the dignity of independence for the subservience of money-grubbing."

personnel to spend the last two hours of his day as superintendent of the electrical shop. He would be a hazard.

The coming of diesels brought an end to an era that most railroaders recall with nostalgia. The puffing steam engines created a lot of smoke and soot, but they had a special charm no one could deny. Aboard these engines the locomotive firemen fed the "iron hogs" for nearly a century. First they used wood. Then came coal and later there were the automatic stokers that eliminated most of the coal shoveling, even though coal was still used as fuel.

Dieselization brought an end to the great old puffers, and their stimulating whistle became a thing of the past. The fireman, however, did not fade into history. Instead, he exchanged his coal shovel and knowledge of automatic stokers for a new set of work tools. These tools were diesel engine troubleshooting books, a working knowledge of the great new power that uses oil to generate electricity.

His name didn't change—probably because of his proud tradition—but his duties in many respects became more complicated and certainly more important. The fireman retained his regular work as safety lookout on the left side of the locomotive cab and his duties in assisting the engineer and training to be an engineer himself one day. To those he added the responsibility of supervising the power-producing units of any number of diesel units operating in multiple as one locomotive.

WHEN a train is in operation, engine malfunctions cause warning signals to light up in the locomotive cab. It is the fireman who has the responsibility and the skill to investigate these trouble calls, locate the disorder and, if possible, restore the unit to operating conditions without interfering with the continuous operation of the train.

The fireman is readily available when and if an engineer becomes incapacitated, and no matter what grandiose claims are made about the "dead man's control," there is no better safety device than the engineer and his fireman working as a team. Those are the sentiments of many top railroad officials and of railroad operating workers without exception.

None of the automatic devices introduced in railroading makes the fireman obsolete. He is the employee responsible for checking and supervising the power production of the technological device involved, the diesel engine. The locomotive fireman is indispensable to railroad safety and the proper and efficient operation of trains. He is needed to provide the supply of new workers undergoing training to become locomotive engineers.

Just as railroad management is ignoring the demands of safety in its reckless proposal to remove firemen from freight and yard service operations, it is similarly irresponsible in its effort to eliminate what Daniel Loomis has referred to as "the brakeman who handles no brakes on power-brake-equipped freight trains."

It just happens that the Interstate Commerce Commission regularly reports casualties to employees of the railroads in many sub-classifications, and among them is one involving the accidents sustained in the "operation of hand brakes." If brakemen are handling no brakes, as Mr. Loomis alleges, how then did it happen that in 1954 there were three train service men killed and 688 injured in the operation of hand brakes? In 1955 six were killed and 793 injured in the operation of hand brakes. In 1956, there were five killed and 863 injured in the operation of hand brakes. More than 12 per cent of all casualties to brakemen in those three years occurred in the operation of those hand brakes that have supposedly vanished.

Brakemen are performing an important and dangerous function, and the steady increase in their casualty rate shows that the need for an adequate number in the interests of safety is increasing—and no diminishing as the employers contend.

Similar to railroad management's proposal to eliminate firemen is its demand that it have the sole right to determine the use of conductors, brakemen and engineers.

There is a popular notion circulating in employer circles that the managers of an industry must have the exclusive right to decide when and where employees will be used. This greater flexibility, they say, will enable the industry to receive full benefit of automated techniques.

Look at that proposition in the case of the railroad industry. The

If any man tells you he loves America yet he hates labor, he is a liar. If any man tells you he trusts America yet fears labor, he is a fool. There is no America without labor.

—Abraham Lincoln.

employers want to decide when and where they can use employees. The workers have their rights too. They have the right to protect themselves against unwise management encroachment.

The American railroad industry has demonstrated over the years an inability to provide safe, efficient operation without the guidance of government agencies and the checkrein influence of the labor organizations. Insurance companies still classify railroad operating work as hazardous and charge considerably higher rates on these job classifications.

It was the railroad labor organizations that fought for and helped bring about every safety regulation and device now taken for granted on the railroads. These include even such basic requirements as electric headlights, automatic car couplers, locomotive inspection and even the entire signal system in use in this country. Labor's efforts to improve railroad safety have always been bitterly opposed by railroad management.

That opposition exists today. Over two years ago we asked the railroads to work with us in setting up a joint labor-management safety committee to try to halt the steady rise in railroad accidents. We could not secure the railroads' cooperation. The railway labor organizations then set up a safety committee of their own.

Safety legislation invariably gets the tag of "make work" legislation or "legalized featherbedding" pinned on it by rail management. Kenneth Tuggle, chairman of the ICC, regards such legislation as necessary to the safety of the employees and the public. Safety legislation does not in any manner have the purpose of creating jobs, Mr. Tuggle says.

Historically, the financial interests that control the nation's railroads have always placed profit above safety, and that is what they are doing now in their "featherbedding"

campaign. Given the prerogative to assign crews at their own discretion, the railroad management most assuredly would follow its past attempts to milk as much work from the least number of employees possible without regard to safe operation and efficient service to shippers and the traveling public.

Railroad labor, with the public's interest just as much in mind as its own natural interest in self-protection against the hazards of railroad employment, will use all of its resources to prevent changes in the working rules which would threaten safe and efficient railroad operations.

Instead of attacking their employees with false charges, the railroads would better serve their own interests and those of the nation if they would abandon their present defeatist attitude concerning the future of the railroads. If management would only devote the energy it now is wasting in attacking non-existent "featherbedding" to its primary function of actively competing for the amount of business it could get by providing better service, most of the railroads' problems would quickly vanish.

Instead of responding to competition by seeking to meet it through better selling and more adequate service, the railroads appear to have thrown in the sponge. They are running fewer passenger trains. Diners have been dropped on many long runs. Many stations have no red cap service. Lack of cleanliness and sanitation of some trains has reached the point of becoming a threat to public health.

Should one wonder that the airlines and buses are getting a steadily higher share of passenger service under such circumstances? The wonder really is that railroad service has held up so well.

DESPITE all that railroad management has been doing deliberately to discourage passenger train operations, more passengers are using the railroads today than ever before—when the available service is taken into consideration. This becomes clear when it is remembered that from 1929 to 1957, the railroads took off so many trains that there was a drop of 50 per cent in the total passenger train miles run by the railroads.

In spite of the tremendous cutback in available railroad service and in spite of the tremendous increase in

competing passenger service facilities in the form of buses, airlines and greater use of private passenger cars for interurban travel, the railroads decrease in revenue passenger miles over the same period was only 10 per cent.

These figures prove conclusively that the railroads could be carrying a considerably greater portion of passenger business—and at a profit—if they would only make the effort.

We have all seen the railroads' ads on featherbedding, but how many of us can recall the last time advertisements to promote railroad travel approached even 10 per cent of the advertising space the airlines use to promote their business?

Railroad mismanagement is by no means confined to the sphere of passenger service. Some railroads have gone out of their way to discourage less-than-carload freight. Others want to drop the income they receive from hauling mail, and still others have cut back on the services they perform for shippers. The present state of maintenance of the freight car fleet and of track and roadbed has reached such a deplorable state that it is now the subject of investigation by Congress.

The railroads have only one thing to sell—service. Yet the philosophy that is being followed by railroad management in too many instances

is to cut down on service in the expectation that more money will be made as services are eliminated. Such an approach to railroading just won't work. Moreover, it cannot long be tolerated because it is contrary to the national interest.

Those of us who work in the railroad industry have unlimited faith in its future. We know how far more efficient a form of transportation the railroads could be if they were only properly used. We would like to work with management toward that end, because we believe that jobs in the industry can best be preserved, not by seeking to destroy safety standards but by doing constantly better the transportation job which only the railroads are equipped to do.

Railroad labor in this country has never fought the introduction of labor-saving devices when they have contributed to more efficient—and safe—railroading. The unmatched productivity increase among workers in the railroad industry is ample testimony to this fact.

Railroad management should settle disagreements with its workers in the traditional way—at the bargaining table and not in propaganda campaigns in the public press.

We hope such an era of labor-management cooperation on the railroads will arrive soon.

An Unusual Situation

SEVERAL hundred Massachusetts hat workers, members of the United Hatters with an unusual relationship to the firm which employs them, have approved a new contract calling for a package wage increase of 7½ per cent. Signing of the agreement was announced in New York by Alex Rose, president of the United Hatters and also board chairman of the Merrimac Hat Company of Amesbury, Massachusetts.

One year ago the 100-year-old, deficit-ridden firm was ready to put its machinery and other assets on the auction block. Its operations were suspended and its 325 unionized employees, out of work, faced a sad Christmas.

Since then sales have increased and company operations are in the black. Net earnings before taxes for the first nine months of 1959 were \$163,000.

The company had a loss of \$170,000 in the same period of 1958. The company's profits are being shared by the stockholders, employees and the community of Amesbury, whose 11,000 population is economically dependent on the Merrimac plant.

The employees bought control of the firm last February to keep it in business and thereby save their jobs.

Mr. Rose pointed out that contract negotiations this year were on the same basis as in past years. No favoritism was shown the employee-owned concern, he said.

In the negotiations the management was represented by Hans Rie, Merrimac president before the employees bought control. Representing the union was Frank Cynewski, international vice-president of the Hatters Union and business manager of the Amesbury local.

LABOR NEWS BRIEFS

►The United Auto Workers have announced a new approach to organizing activities by decentralizing the responsibility for organizing and giving more authority to the union's nineteen regional directors. Under the new arrangement the UAW organizers will work under a special coordinating committee composed of the union's six top officers.

►Fresh off the press is a new handbook for crew members and delegates of ships operating under contracts with the Seafarers International Union. The booklet points out that shipboard activity is the heart of the union and the delegates are important representatives of the crew and the union.

►Charles F. Moran, a district representative, has been named a vice-president of the Boilermakers and Blacksmiths to fill the vacancy created by the recent death of William G. Pendergast. The new vice-president has been a member of Local 621 at Holyoke, Mass., since 1941.

►Members of Lodge 1607, International Association of Machinists, have won gains in a new two-year contract with Ithaca Gun Company, Ithaca, N. Y. The agreement calls for an across-the-board wage increase and improvements in paid vacations and hospital benefits.

►California Governor Edmund G. Brown has appointed the president of the San Bernardino Central Labor Council as judge of the Municipal Court of the San Bernardino Judicial District. The new judge is John Biddle Lawrence.

►The Bricklayers Union in Denver has marked its seventy-fifth anniversary. One of the first unions organized in the Denver region, it provided the international with a president around the turn of the century.

►Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president of the New York City Central Labor Council, was honored by the National Committee for Rural Schools at its tenth anniversary luncheon.

►On the occasion of the second anniversary of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers, a statement by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler hailed the great progress achieved by the union. "All labor rejoices," he said. The ABC was chartered after the expulsion of the Bakery and Confectionery Workers led by James Cross.

►President George M. Harrison of the Railway Clerks has been named to the Export-Import Bank's Advisory Committee. Mr. Harrison is an AFL-CIO vice-president.

►Wage increases of 20 to 30 cents an hour, seven paid holidays and shift differentials were included in the first contract between the Western Pottery Company of Hollydale, Calif., and the International Brotherhood of Operative Potters, Local 307. Sweatshop conditions had prevailed until the employees of the company became organized.

►Samuel Jacobs, a labor educator and consumer specialist in the Washington office of the United Auto Workers, was killed with his wife, Pearl, in an automobile accident near Fredericksburg, Va. He joined the UAW education staff in Detroit in 1948 and went to the Washington office in 1951.

►The Canadian Labor Congress has called for a summit conference of labor, management and government. The CLC has charged the Canadian Chamber of Commerce with making legislative recommendations that would create labor-management conflict "unprecedented in this country."

►The Air Line Pilots Association has filed a vigorous protest against an order by the Federal Aviation Agency requiring pilots to retire at the age of 60. The FAA was lashed for "arbitrary rule-making in private."

►Local 924 of the State, County and Municipal Employees, New York City, recently issued an emergency call to all members for blood donors to help a member in critical condition.

►Labor's concern with community problems was spotlighted at a New York City dinner honoring Peter Ottley, president of Local 144, Hotel Employees. Speakers who paid tribute to the veteran trade unionist included Mayor Robert F. Wagner and President A. Philip Randolph of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

►The Sidney Hillman Foundation has announced its tenth annual contest for outstanding contributions in literature, journalism, drama, motion pictures, television and radio. Entries must be submitted before February 1 to the Sidney Hillman Foundation, 15 Union Square, New York City.

►Dock A. Pittman, member of Lodge 1949 of the International Association of Machinists at Indianapolis, received a badge and certificate to mark his thirty-five years as a member of the union. He joined Lodge 1, Atlanta. Later he was active in Washington and Pocatello, Idaho.

►Local 3, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, New York City, has voted to contribute \$1000 a week for five weeks to support the year-old strike of the Textile Workers Union of America against the Harriet-Henderson Cotton Mills in North Carolina.

►Joseph Tuvim, manager of Local 142 of the Ladies' Garment Workers in New York City, has been cited by the Union Label and Service Trades Department of New York State for his four decades of devoted service to the labor movement.

►The Indianapolis and Vicinity District Council of the Carpenters and the Eastern Indiana District Council have merged to form the Central Indiana District Council embracing 4,000 members. J. Vernon Cox is president of the new organization.

►A handbook for the guidance of local union officers has been issued by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

WHAT THEY SAY

Habib Bourguiba, President of Tunisia—Since independence the Tunisian government has dedicated its efforts to improving the living conditions of workers and to promoting social progress. Important reforms have taken place among labor organizations as well as for the welfare of the people. The government has stressed its will to cooperate with the international community in order to improve the workers' living conditions further.

Conscious of the fact that there can be no peace and liberty as long as the masses remain enslaved in ignorance, misery and disease, Tunisia has put forth great efforts to develop economic activities and raise the standard of living of the people.

Nowadays peace and liberty form one entity throughout the world, and Tunisia could not remain indifferent to the fate of oppressed peoples now struggling for recognition of their right to dignity. I believe the decolonization problem should be the major preoccupation of all democratic peoples. I am convinced that American workers share this concern with us and will continue to act in favor of freedom for all peoples.

William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer, AFL-CIO—There are some



who would say that we in American labor should be satisfied. Ours is the largest single trade union movement in the world. Our contracts are the best in the world. The wage standards, the hours, the working conditions enjoyed by our members stand head and shoulders above any others. But we are not satisfied.

We know that so long as any worker is denied the benefits and the protection of a trade union, our job is far from completed. We know that so long as poverty exists, either in this country or anywhere in the world, the American labor movement has its work cut out for it.

A large part of the job consists of bringing organization to the unorganized workers in industry. As we trade unionists know from years of bitter experience, unorganized plants and shops in our industries are a threat to the benefits and protections we have won, a threat to the wage scales we have brought up to a half-way decent level, a threat to the working conditions which were achieved through years of struggle.

That is the big job of the entire trade union movement—the task of organizing the unorganized workers. It is a task which demands the very best of all of us.

Walter P. Reuther, president, United Auto Workers—We have a

tremendous task ahead. A smaller percentage of the working force is organized today than was the case ten years ago. The character of the labor force is changing. If our movement is to have greater influence upon the image of America in terms of working conditions and wages and hours and economics, upon legislation, then we need not only to keep abreast of our historic position in the relationship to the total labor force, but we need to organize a greater percentage.

Can we organize the unorganized? The answer is yes. The American workers are ready to march. There is nothing fundamentally wrong with them, and these millions of unorganized workers need the protection and the benefits of organization. They can't get the protection and the benefits in the absence of organization. The unorganized workers need us and we need them because we need their numbers to make us stronger and more effective to create that counterbalance in our free society.

Can we generate the same kind of determination, the same kind of total commitment to organizing the unorganized as we have seen people exhibit while haggling about three or



four or a dozen workers? I think we can. I have unlimited faith in the good will and the good sense of the people who make up the leadership of our labor movement.

Anna Kethly, Hungarian trade unionist in exile—The Hungarian ques-

tion is a human question. It involves all of us. Our common fate is bound up with the way the diplomats of the democratic world will treat the Hungarian question. Mankind cannot stand another Hungary. Let us unite and redeem the good name of world democracy by redeeming and restoring the freedom of the Hungarian people.

We think negotiations are good and necessary because they may contribute to a lessening of the terrible international tension. But the free nations must remain vigilant because—as I said many times during the past three years—what has happened and what is happening today in Hungary may happen to other nations tomorrow.

We consider it our duty to call the attention of the free world to the very dubious value of Communist promises.

The fate of Imre Nagy, Pal Maleter and other Hungarian martyrs should remain a constant warning to the free world.

Leo Perlis, director, AFL-CIO Community Service Activities—Fund-

raisers and social welfare executives and influential citizens should join social workers in taking a good look at rat-infested homes, firetrap schools, crowded mental wards and filthy skid rows. They should come and stay a while and see for themselves. This is the kind of "come see" tour that labor should help to organize.

It may help some of us to think more about needs than about agencies. We may even want to admit that our budgeting process has been out of date for many years and needs to be almost completely overhauled.



Safety Pays

DON'T SPEED

DON'T SKID

STAY ALIVE



NOW THAT WINTER IS HERE...

DRIVE WITH EXTRA CARE

GET BEHIND *the* **STEELWORKERS**

THEIR FIGHT IS OUR FIGHT

AFL-CIO President Meany says:

"This drive for funds will not end until the Steelworkers have won. If the Steelworkers were to lose this battle, every union would face a major assault on its own working conditions. Make no mistake about it—management is determined to wipe out industrial democracy. And labor is just as determined to preserve industrial democracy."

**UNTIL THEIR FIGHT IS WON,
GIVE ONE HOUR'S PAY
EVERY MONTH TO THE
STEELWORKERS'
DEFENSE FUND**

